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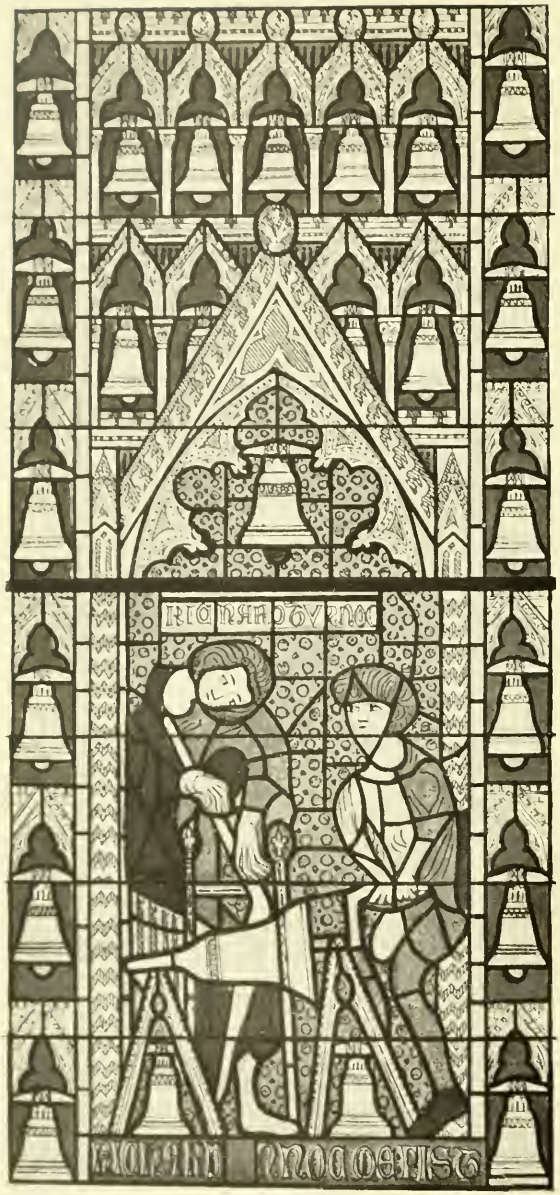
THE BELLS OF ENGLAND



FORMING THE MOULD

(PART OF THE BELL FOUNDER'S WINDOW IN YORK CATHEDRAL)

THE BELLS OF ENGLAND

BY

J. J. RAVEN, D.D., F.S.A.,

OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, VICAR OF FRESSINGFIELD
AND HONORARY CANON OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

EARLY HISTORY 1

"Small beginnings"—Bronze—Its Hebrew and Greek equivalents—The Old Testament—Homer—Hesiod—Herodotus—Pomponius Mela—Dionysius Periegetes—Eustathius on Cornwall—Crotals—Basque names of metals—Pliny—Copper in Cumberland—Names for bells—*Tintinnabulum*, *Squilla*, *Bell*, *Campana*, and *Nola*—Their derivations—Walafridus Strabo—Polydore Vergil—Chladni, etc.—Gerard Voss—Holyoke—Martial—Hieronymus Magius—Historians of the present day—Analysis of the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH PERIOD 14

Variation in civilization among the British tribes—Routes—Essedæ—Small bells, open and closed—Crotals at the end of spears—Bells of the Irish type—ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς—The specimen from Marden—Archbishop Beresford's collection—St. Boniface's present to the Pope—St. Teilo—Bells become sacred—Scotch instances—The Kilberry clagan of St. Barry—Festal days—Congleton—The passing bell.

CHAPTER III

THE SAXON PERIOD 28

Retrogression at first—St. Augustine's mission—"The Old Minster"—Bells probably hung in trees—Towers necessary for thanedom—Antiquity of the equilateral arch—The death of St. Hilda—Excerpt of Archbishop Egbert—Saxon towers—Crowland—Examples of small bells played by hand—Alleged baptism of bells—Hand-bells and hanged-bells at Sherburn-in-Elmet.

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CHAPTER IV

PAGE

THE NORMAN PERIOD 42

Comparison of the Norman Conquest with the present day—Norman towers—Bells in Normandy—Revival at Crowland—Fergus of Boston and Alwold of London, founders—Double bell-cots—Canterbury Cathedral—St. Alban's—Exeter—Norwich—St. Bene't at Hulme—Fire at Ely—Methods of sounding—Augustinian priory at Cambridge—Improvements in hanging—Presumably old bells remaining—Development of Bury Abbey—Improvement in small bells.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY 56

Change in architecture—Development in shape of bells—Earliest inscriptions—Instructions in founding by Walter of Odyngton—Letters by strips of wax—Gerbertus Scholasticus—Founders called *ollarii*—The old Caversfield Sance bell—Lichfield—Cambridge—Paignton—Lynn—The Claughton bell—Bridgewater—Waverley—Bury St. Edmund's—The Westminster Guild of Ringers.

CHAPTER VI

TIMES OF DEVELOPMENT 71

The mortar at York—The window in the Minster—Crokesden—Ely Sacrist's rolls—Early London founders and their works.

CHAPTER VII

PROVINCIAL FOUNDERS—MEDIÆVAL USES 85

Canterbury—William le Belyetere—Stephen Norton, of Kent—York Minster—Leicester—Robin Hood and the potter—Lavers—Sandre de Gloucetre—A Cumberland laver—Lynn—Norwich—William de Notyngham there—Thomas Dekun in Holderness—The Curfew—The Angelus bell—The hours—Bishop Grandison—Notes from Bishop Lyndewode's *Provinciale*—Lydgate on the sacring bell.

CHAPTER VIII

PAGE

THE *CIRE PERDUE*—HEXAMETERS—ORNAMENTATION—MIGRATION OF FOUNDERS—POWER OF BELLS OVER STORMS, ETC.—THE PASSING BELL—ANGELIC DEDICATIONS . 101

The *cire perdue* method—Chertsey, and the date of a bell there—The Leonine hexameter—Royal heads—Edward I. and his Queen—Edward III. and his Queen—Robert Rider of London—Suffolk men in London—Site of the foundry—A Yorkshire founder in Norfolk—Power of bells over evil spirits and thunder—The passing bell—The Archangel Michael—Gabriel bells—Raphael bells.

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNING OF THE BLACK-LETTER PERIOD 118

The coming in of black-letter—Confluence of two types at Greystoke—Dedications to the Virgin Mary—One nearly identical with the seal of St. Mary's Abbey, York—*Stella Maris*—Apostolic dedications—The Fathers—A Clement—An Augustine—The Martyrs: St. Katherine, St. Barbara, St. Apollonia, St. Lucy—Dedication to SS. Margaret, Etheldreda, Antony, Thomas à Becket, Vincent, Giles, Martin, Laurence—Prayers for benefactors—Ornamental lettering—Norwich—Lincolnshire—Chime barrels—Will of John Baret of Bury—Coventry regulations about *death-bells*.

CHAPTER X

EARLY FOUNDRIES—LONDON AND THE SOUTH-WEST . . 139

Metropolitan founders of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—Galfrid of Hedemton—William Dawe, *alias* Founder—John Walgrave—Richard Hille and his widow—Henry Jordan and King's College, Cambridge—John Kebyll—William Culverden—Bristol and its ship-mark—The Katherine wheel—Gloucester—Robert Handley, William Henshawe—Salisbury—John Barbor's will—Ash Priors—Roger Semson—Dorset—The Wimborne tenor—Exeter—Robert Norton and his misdoings at Plymptree—Wokingham and Reading—Roger Landon and his bronze chimney-pots for Eton—John Michell—William Hasylwood of Reading.

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE SOUTH COAST EASTWARD 158

Warblington, Hants—Arreton, Isle of Wight—Nicholas, a founder, named on a bell at Bramber, Sussex—Richard Kerner in Kent—Essex

PAGE

a metropolitan preserve—London bells in East Anglia—Early Norwich founders—The Brasyers—The Mildenhall law-suit—The Brasyer bell at Ford Abbey, Dorset—The Bury foundry—H. S.—Reignold Chyrch at Bishop's Stortford—Thomas Chirche—The Redenhall tenor—Sudbury All Saints' seventh—Cambridge work done at Bury—Roger Reve—No guns with the Bury mark—Walter le Braszur at Cambridge.

CHAPTER XII

THE MIDLANDS AND THE NORTH 176

Lincolnshire bells—Foundry at Boston—The unique lettering at South Somercotes, etc.—The Leverton sanctus bell—The Mellours of Nottingham—Their work at Wigtoft—William Millers of Leicester—Thomas Newcombe—Thomas Bett—The Leicester tragedy of 1306—Northamptonshire and Rutland—Buckingham—Dorchester, Oxon.—Warwickshire—A Worcester family—Ludlow—Derbyshire—Staffordshire—Furness—Yorkshire founders—Robin Hood and the potter—Bells in the lake counties—York founders at work in Cumberland—The Dacre bells—Carlisle Cathedral—Itinerant founders—Austin Bracker—Foreign founders—The Act of 1483—Evasion of it—Venlo—Mechlin.

CHAPTER XIII

THE TUDOR PERIOD 193

Depredations in the days of Henry VIII.—Exaggerations—Monastery bells—The Commission of 1553—Stagnation in work at Norwich and Bury St. Edmund's—Death of Sir William Corvehill—Somerset—Elizabethan Revival—Wallis of Salisbury—Whitechapel—Leicester—John Clarke—John Dier—Stephen Tonni of Bury, and his coadjutors—William Land and Thomas Draper—Removal of the latter to Thetford—Shropshire—Buckingham—Reading—Gloucester—Yetminster—Colchester—Richard Bowler probably meant by "Dick Baker"—Henry Topsell and the Beccles fire—Valentyne Trevor—The Kent foundries—The Hatch family—John Wilnar—The Purdues—Miles Graye—The Lavenham tenor—The Rev. William Gurnall—Norwich and the Brends—John Draper of Thetford—Stamford—Cumberland—Yorkshire.

CHAPTER XIV

LATER FOUNDERS 212

Progress after the Restoration—The Hodsons and Wightmans in London—Richard Phelps—The Fire of London recorded at Damerham—Lester, Pack, and Chapman—The Mears family—Lawson—The Knights

PAGE

—The Rudhalls of Gloucester—Dr. Parr there—Closworth, Collumpton, Chewstoke and the Bilbies—The Cockeys—The Penningtons—Kipling of Portsmouth and the Vernon Medal—The Bagleys—The Russells—John Bunyan a ringer—Kettering—St. Neot's—Downham Market—The Taylors at St. Neot's, Oxford, and Loughborough—The Darbies—Edward Tooke—The Newmans—Difficulties at Haddenham—Stephens—Henry Pleasant—The Gardiners—Penn of Peterborough—Other later founders.

CHAPTER XV

CHANGE-RINGING 229

Origin of change-ringing—Call changes—"Whittington"—Excellence of old bell-frames—Ease of chiming—Rise of ringing—Fabian Stedman's *Tintinnalogia*, and various methods from it—*The School of Recreation*—Ringing societies—The Brethren of the Guild of Westminster—The Schollers of Chepesyde—The College youths—The Cumberland Society of Change-ringers.

CHAPTER XVI

SIGNA 247

Canterbury: Prior Wybert's bell—Prior Eastry's *Thomas*—Prior Molass's *Dunstan*—Bell *Harry*—*Peter* of York—*Tom* of Lincoln—Accounts of the 1610 bell—The present bell—Bury St. Edmund's—The absence of record of *Signa*—Ely—The work of John of Gloucester—Query as to the use of the lantern—Exeter: Bell *Grandison*—Bell *Peter*—Oxford—*Great Tom*—The Oseney bell—Its conveyance to Oxford—The 1612 bell—The 1654 bell—Christopher Hodson's bell, in 1680—St. Paul's Cathedral—The 1716 bell—Taylor's bell, in 1881—Westminster *Big Ben*—*Peter* of Gloucester—Manchester Town Hall—Worcester—Beverley.

CHAPTER XVII

CARILLONS, HAND-BELLS, AND TINTINNABULA 262

The chime-barrel—The word *Carillon*—Grantham—Doncaster—Holbeach—The Cambridge chimes, and their history—The "Tennyson" chimes at Freshwater—Boston—Norwich—The Carilloneur—Perambulations—Hand-bells—Wells of Aldbourne—Symondson—Lammas Day at Congleton—Chester Races—Jack o' th' Clock.

CHAPTER XVIII

PAGE

LEGENDS—TRADITIONS—MEMORIES 277

The Fylfot—St. Illtyd—Influence of bells on thunderstorms—"The Silent Tower of Bottreau by the Severn Sea"—The stolen bell of Knowlton—The lost Jersey bells—The lost bell of Hunstanton—The blindness of Bishop Bulkeley of Bangor—Crosmere—The "Dead Man's Peal" at Wentnor—Sound of bells at the death of Bishop Grosseteste, and at the burial of Hugh the boy-martyr—Year-day of St. Hugh of Avalon—East Bergholt and its "cage"—A Kincardineshire story—A "Vernon" bell in Cornwall.

CHAPTER XIX

BELL POETRY 292

Dr. Corbet on *Tom* of Oxford—Two poems from *Tintinnalogia*—Lines by "J. Copywell"—"The Ringers of Lancell's Tower"—Charles Lamb—William Lisle Bowles—Archdeacon Cleveland Coxe—The Hull Ringers—Congratulatory lines to Ellacombe.

CHAPTER XX

USAGES—LAW—CONCLUSION 314

The Common Law of England—*Jus Commune Ecclesiasticum*—Canon Law—Secular uses of bells in the Saxon period—Conflicting authorities—Difficulties at Wymondham—The Tower of St. Mary's, Bungay—The Curfew—Ringing for Chesterfield Races—Variation as to the Sanctus bell—The early morning bell at Hammersmith—Consecration of bells—Controversy about baptism of bells—Alcuin—Charlemagne—The Georgian era—Dedication at Lichfield, 1477—The Oseney use—Remains of the catechizing bell—The "Cambridge youths"—Ringers' rules, etc., on steeple boards at Scotter, Shilling Okeford, Much Hadham, Gulval, and Fowey.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

FIG.		PAGE
1.	A Crotal	3
2.	A Riveted Bell	20
3.	Hand-bells at the Funeral of Edward the Confessor	40
4.	Two Bells in a Turret	41
5.	Three Bells in a Turret	41
6.	Seal of Sandre de Gloucetre	91
7.	A Laver from Cumberland	92
8.	A Bell at Communion of the Sick	97
9.	Sance Bell in a Cot	98
10.	Sance Bell on a Rood-screen	99
11.	Head of Edward III.	106
12–16.	London Foundry-marks	120
17.	Shield of Thomas Bullisdon	120
18–23.	Norwich Lettering	132
24, 25.	Norwich Foundry-marks	133
26, 27.	Norwich Shields	133
28, 29.	William ffoundor's Shields	141
30.	Ring and Cross Shield	144
31, 32.	Jordan's Shields	144
33.	Jordan's Initial Cross	144
34.	Kebyll's Shield	146
35–38.	Emblems of the Evangelists	146
39.	Culverden's Shield	146
40.	Bury Shield	169
41–43.	Bury Lettering	170
44.	Bell-house, King's College, Cambridge	173
45.	John Tonni's Cross	198
46–49.	John Tonni's Foundry-marks	199
50.	Jack o' th' Clock	275

LIST OF PLATES

Forming the Mould . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Part of the Bell Founder's Window in York Cathedral.

Hammer ringing of an Octave of Bells . . *To face page* 66

From end of preface of a 13th-Cent. *Biblia Vulgata*, Harl. MS. 2804, f. 3b.

Blessing the Donor of the Bell . . . . . ,, 72

Part of the Bell Founder's Window in York Cathedral.

Running the Molten Metal . . . . . ,, 74

Part of the Bell Founder's Window in York Cathedral.

Hammer ringing of Three Bells . . . . . ,, 82

From a French MS., A.D. 1372. At the head of a chapter treating of difference of numbers, measures, weights, and sounds. Cott. MS. Aug. vi. f. 457b.

Initial Letters of Monk ringing, and of Two Bells in Church Spire . . . . . ,, 192

From a 14th-Cent. Alphabetical Collection termed *Omne Bonum*, Royal MS. 6 E, vi., ff. 232, 298.

Interior of Turret with Bell and Clock-work; Illustrating statement that the Divinity regulates the time and actions of humanity after the fashion of a clock . . . . . ,, 262

From the Epistle of Othea; works of Christine de Pisan, 15th Cent., Harl. MS. 4431, f. 96b.

Initial Letters of King playing on Four Bells, and of Boy playing with Two Hand-bells (Story of David) . . . . . ,, 272

From 13th-Cent. Psalter, Add. MS. 30,045, ff. 40b, 8b.

PREFACE

THE title of this book indicates rather the purpose than the fulfilment. The range is so vast that a sketch only is possible. Many counties, especially in the North, are practically untouched, while others are still undergoing investigation. It has been my lot, while these pages were passing through the press, to receive additional information. Some of this cannot be inserted.

An important article has recently appeared in *Archæologia*,* in which Mr. Clement Reid traces the conveyance of tin from Cornwall to the Continent through the Isle of Wight. I would suggest the last route in Antonine's Itinerary, British Section, as used for a great part of the land carriage.

I return my best thanks to Dr. Amherst D. Tyssen, Messrs. Jarrolds, Publishers, of Norwich and London, and to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, for the loan of blocks. I owe much to the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., Editor of The Antiquary's Books, for most useful suggestions. Dr. Cox is also responsible for the selection and description of several interesting plates, illustrative of early bell-ringing, from manuscripts in the British Museum. The names of valued helpers during a period of more than half a century would fill a small volume.

J. J. R.

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THE BELLS OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY

THOUGH our bells exert a very potent influence on our lives by their voices, there are not many who recognize that they have a great archæological value. And this need cause no surprise, for sixty years ago hardly an inscription on a bell had been recorded; the names of the founders, the localities of the foundries, were practically unknown. Dwellers in homes some half a mile from a tower whence the bell music, now swelling, now dying away, was wafted to them on the sharp, crisp air at Christmas-time, charming the ear, and dwellers in "Church Street" or "Church Lane" in some town, who suffered acutely from a course of Bob Major or Grandsire Triples, alike were unaware of the mysteries of lettering, inscriptions, word-stops, initial crosses and foundry stamps. Now, with the records of a score of counties completed, and considerable collections made from those as yet incomplete, we are in a position to sum up our results and attempt some history of our English bells. In this matter, as in most others, development arises from things apparently insignificant, and the origin of every class of music is found in that universal instinct which takes its pleasure sometimes in

length of tone, sometimes in its brevity and abruptness, but generally in some orderly sequence of sounds. "We hear of no people," says Dr. Burney, in the Preface to his *General History of Music*, "however wild and savage in other particulars, who have not music of some kind or other, with which we may suppose them to be greatly delighted, by their constant use of it upon occasions the most opposite." The musical instinct, therefore, albeit in a very elementary form, must have been in palæolithic man, and the clink from his weapons and tools cheered him under his labours and disappointments. When we observe that birds in their natural condition utter their notes many a time in musical sequence, when we find that contact with advanced humanity will cause them to utter a few notes of a tune, the conclusion is not hard to arrive at that primæval man was at no period insensible to concourse of sweet sounds. An experiment or two in chipping might point the way to such sequences. Feeble indeed would be such beginnings, but we may again put Dr. Burney into the witness-box. "The feeble beginnings of whatever afterwards becomes great or eminent are interesting to mankind," says he, adding that "to artists and to real lovers of art nothing relative to the object of their employment or pleasure is indifferent." Thus far speculation may carry us, but of evidence we have none at present, though even in our own days we have heard tunes from musical stones.

Regarded, and rightly so, as musical instruments, bells belong to the most primitive class, instruments of percussion. Before nerve or sinew, stretched from point to point, had given forth their enlivening twangs, before the reed with the pith extracted from it had responded to the breath of human lungs, the clink of chipped stone had cheered the palæolithic

artisan. And as musical glasses, which in after days have contributed to juvenile amusement, are but the children of chipped stone, so bells in their different forms are but the children of those bits of tin and copper which neolithic man no doubt looked upon as pretty stones.

It is not within the scope of our subject to treat at length of the bronze age, but curiosity as to the discovery of that wonderful compound is not easy to be altogether repressed, and conjecture arises whether some accident in melting occurred, of a character like to that which in historic times gave the origin to Corinthian brass. Had we traces of the previous copper period, that metal by itself is deficient in sonorous quality. A little tinkling might have been obtained from tin, but nothing remains to indicate that the Cornish ore was used for this purpose. Everything suggests an epoch in the history of our race, a rapid transition from polished stones to that hard vibratory amalgam which in proportions of much variation is compounded of both metals. Once discovered, there would be little delay in putting bronze to a great many uses, and among them small vessels for drinking purposes, and little noisy signals of cup-like form. As the huntsman began to give way to the herdsman, need arose for something to hang on the necks of cattle, to keep their owners in touch with them. This is the crotal (Fig. 1). By far the greatest number of bells, from very remote times, have been made of bronze. In this mixture there is found great variety, but on the whole copper and tin may be taken as the ingredients, the amount of other metals—zinc, lead, and even silver—being quite insignificant, and in many cases accidental.

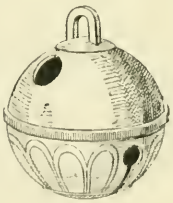

Fig. 1.

The proportions of copper and tin in bronze differ largely according to the purpose which the alloy is intended to serve. For objects in which strength is the main end to be obtained, tin should never be more than one-sixth of the whole, but for sonorous effect, according to Mr. Graham, it ought not to be less than one-fifth. Our brass, composed of copper and zinc, is but a thing of yesterday, and the Hebrew word נחש, rendered invariably by χαλκός in the Septuagint, and with one exception (Ezra viii. 27, where we read of "vessels of shining copper") by "brass" in our English versions, may be generally regarded as equivalent to "bronze."

Yet there are exceptions. It must be "copper" in Job xxviii. 2, where the Authorized and Revised Versions agree in rendering the original: "Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone," with the alternative of "dust" for "earth." The mention of a mine in the previous verse is conclusive here, as in "out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass" (Deut. viii. 9). But *exceptio probat regulam*, and the general result is not to be mistaken. The root means a serpent, possibly from its deadly *hiss*, and the word with *t* often added seems to have been transferred to the metal, its burnished tint being snake-like. In passing from the word *nahash*, I may be forgiven for noting how the name *Serpent* was used for the Ammonite King (1 Sam. xi. 1), even as *Orme* was adopted as a name of terror by our wild Scandinavian ancestors. When we come to the other element in the bronze compound, England begins to assume a greater importance. בדיל, the Hebrew equivalent for "tin," occurs five times in the Old Testament, and once in the Apocryphal *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach.* In every place but one it is rendered by κασσίτερος in the Septuagint. The solitary exception is Isa. i. 25, where the Alexandrians

gave an interpretation rather than a translation of "I will take away all thy tin," rendering the metal by what it was intended to represent, namely the unrighteous (ἀνόμους). When the subsequent translators, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, dealt with the passage, they returned to the letter of the text, and read κασσίτερος here as in the other places.

The word is also Homeric. Beyond its whiteness, ductability, and suitableness for ornamentation, not much about it can be gathered from the *Iliad*. It does not occur in the *Odyssey*.

The one passage in Hesiod (*Theognis*, 857, etc.) in which it is found is important for our purpose. Mr. Gladstone assigns to Homer a date about 1200 B.C., contemporary with Gideon. Hesiod is supposed to have lived some five centuries after Homer, about the time of the Prophet Isaiah. His poems certainly display a more extensive knowledge of the earth than that which was possessed by the epic chronicler of Troy town, and his information extends more over Western Europe. He is describing the destruction of the Titan Typhœus by Zeus, how the earth burned with a mighty reek and was melted, being heated, like κασσίτερος, by the art of the vigorous and by the well-channelled melting-pit.* In another passage he describes a port represented with the help of melted tin on the Shield of Hercules.†

As *kasdîr* is the Arabic for "tin," some would derive κασσίτερος from it, suggesting that afterwards, when the supply came from Cornwall, the name was transferred to it and the Scilly Isles, thus called the Cassiterides. This does not agree with the account given by Herodotus, who distinctly places them in the most distant part of Western

* Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 861-866. † *Sc. Herc.* 208.

Europe, though he confesses the imperfection of his information about them.* The testimonies of Pomponius Mela, the geographer of the time of the Emperor Claudius, and of Pliny are to the same effect. The catena of evidence goes on to Dionysius Periegetes, whose *Periegesis*, written towards the end of the third century, contains a passage bearing not only on matters of trade and manufacture, but also on the ethnology of our islands and the adjoining parts of the Continent :

> . . . αὐτὰρ ὑπ' ἄκρην
> Ἰρὴν, ἣν ἐνέπουσι κάρην ἔμεν Εὐρωπείης
> Νήσους θ' Ἑσπερίδας, τόθι κασσιτέροιο γενέθλη,
> Ἀφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἀγαυῶν παῖδες Ἰβήρων.

Here we have a pre-Celtic race, wealthy and illustrious, while the prominence given to tin suggests the cause of both of these high qualities. Eustathius, whose commentary on the *Periegesis* is given in Hill's 1688 edition, says that the islands were ten in number, that one was a desert, but that the others were inhabited by a black-robed race, who walked with staves, like the Avenging Furies in tragedy.† He says, moreover, that the tin was not found on the surface, but had to be dug out. These noble, opulent Iberians of the long robe might have an earlier racial element under them to do the miners' work, and perhaps the smelting too, while the metal travelled east in the ships of Phœnicia to return, cast into such articles as would be desired. This, at any rate, is one solution of the origin of crotals in England. As time went on some artificer would bring the process of manufacture to the place where the precious ore still

* *Hist.*, iii. 115.

† Τὰς δ' ἄλλας οἰκοῦσι Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄνθρωποι ποδήρεις ἐνδεδυκότες χιτῶνας, ἐξωσμένοι τὰ στέρνα, μετὰ ῥάβδων περιπατοῦντες, ὅμοιοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς ποιναῖς, ὡς φᾶσιν οἱ παλαιοί.

slumbered in the earth. Perhaps the august robes were of Phœnician fabric, obtained by exchange of metal for cloth. What the Iberians called the metals we cannot say. The names used at the present time by the Basques have the air of importation into their language. Copper is *kôbrea;* tin, *estanua,* with sundry variations in spelling; and the compound bronze bears the title of *menastória.* There would be, of course, no difficulty in getting copper in the south-west of England, to work up with the tin, for local artisans; but this would not be the more primitive way. Pliny,* in treating of *plumbum candidum,* equivalent to *cassiterum,* while mentioning it as a product of Spain and Portugal, refers to what he considers a legend ("fabulose narratum") that it was sought in the islands of the Atlantic, and conveyed in wicker boats ("vitilibus navigiis et circumsutis coris"). There was copper in Cumberland, but the earliest account of it seems to be in the Close Rolls of Henry III., according to Camden, who records the discovery of the metal at Newlands and elsewhere, in his own days, "by Thomas Thurland and Daniel Hotchstetter, a German of Auspurg."

The consideration of the names used in different languages for the bell is valuable in many ways. From the sound comes the Latin *tintinnabulum.* The iteration of the name of the metal is obvious. *Stannum* was the common everyday word used by the Romans for tin, and *Estaño,* no doubt its offspring, has been just pointed out as the Basque version of the word at the present day. The sound made the name for the metal which produced it as well as for the tinkling cymbal itself.

From the shape comes the mediæval *Squilla,* found in testamentary dispositions in the diminutive form *skilletta,*

* *Hist. Nat.,* xxxiv. 156.

now only employed in culinary talk. The word originally was used for a small lobster. From the sound again comes our familiar word *bell*, connected with the verb *balare*, or, as Varro spells it, *belare*, signifying the bleating of sheep. Jamieson has preserved the word in his *Ghaist's Warning*, a translation of a Danish ballad, well known to those who con the notes to *The Lady of the Lake*—

> "Ay whan they heard the dog nirr and bell,
> Sae gae they the bairnies bread and ale."

Campana is a word constantly occurring in the inscriptions on bells, and having passed on into later adjective and substantive derivatives, it is recognized to the full. The occasional use of *nola* for a crotal apparently suggested a connection between the two, as Nola was the capital of Campania. Thus Paulinus of Nola was for many years regarded as the introducer of bells into the Church, in spite of the fact that in his letter to Severus he describes his church without mention of either tower or bells. Walafridus Strabo,* who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century, derives the names, indeed, from Nola and Campania, but is silent about Paulinus—

"De vasis fusilibus, vel etiam productilibus, quæ simpliciter signa vocantur, quia eorum sonoritate, quibusdam pulsibus excitata, significantur horæ, quibus in domo Dei statuta celebrantur officia: de his, inquam, hic dicendum videtur, quod eorum usus non adeo apud antiquos habitus proditur, quia nec tam multiplex apud eos conventuum assiduitas, ut modo est, habebatur. Apud alios enim devotio sola cogebat ad statutas horas concurrere. Alii pronuntiationibus publicis invitabantur, et in una solennitate proxime futuras dicebant. Apud quosdam tabulis, apud nonnullos cornibus horæ

* Much of this will be found in Appendix A to my *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire.*

prodebantur. Vasorum autem de quibus sermo ortus est, usum primo apud Italos affirmant inventum. Unde et a Campania, quæ est Italiæ provincia, eadem vasa, majora quidem, Campanæ dicuntur: minora vero, quæ et a sono tintinnabula vocantur, Nolas appellant, a Nola ejusdem civitate Campaniæ, ubi eadem vasa primo sunt commentata."

This author of the book *De Divinis Officiis* failed to note the discrepancy between the quantities of the first syllables of the two words. Nōla is the city, nŏla the bell, as shown by a fourth-century poet, R. Festus Avienus (*Fab.* 7)—

". . . canem . . .
Jusserat in rabido gutture ferre nolam."

But in honesty I must add that some read "notam." Polydore Vergil (1470–1555) bluntly declares that no one knows who invented bells: "Quid jucundius reperiri potuit Horologio . . . quid gratius Tintinnabulo, quod Campanam, nonnulli Nolam nuncupant, inveniri potuit . . . utriusque tamen pariter Autor latet." While using both words, he is silent about Paulinus. Chladni * alludes to the Paulinian story as current in his day, and adds, significantly, "utut alii et hoc pro Errore vulgari habeant." A similar view is taken by Eschenwecker, of Nuremberg, in an Academical Act held in 1708. But the most valuable etymological contribution to the solution of the difficulty is from Gerard Voss, whose *Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ* was dedicated to the great De Wit in 1662. Of *Campana* he says, "Forte a καπάνη, inserto M., quomodo a Syro *Sadin* est *syndon*, a *tappin tympanum*, etc. Καπάνη proprie, Hesychio teste, est τριχίνη κυνῆ, galea e pilis. Inde dicta fuerit *campana* quia forma ejus a *campana* non abluderet. Nisi potius dicendum, καπάνης

* *Inventarium Templorum*, Dresden, 1689, p. 476.

vocem extensam ad *galeas æreas:* has autem loco tintinnabuli solitas pulsari, atque ab hac consuetudine campanæ nomen originem traxisse. Sed metuo ne, quæ hactenus diximus, plus argutiarum habeant quam veritatis. Quippe plane puto, *campanæ*, addo et *nolæ* vocabulum a posteriori esse seculo, etsi res sit admodum vetus. Nam et veteres *æris, intinnabuli,* ἠχείου, χαλκείου, aliisque vocabulis nominarunt: qua de re Hadr. Junius, lib. III. *Animadvers.*, cap. ii." I venture, then, to repeat my suggestion that Campana and καπάνη, like *cup, cap, capio, capulus,* and a host of like words, have their origin in a root which is common to Semitic and Aryan tongues—a guttural and a labial with a dull vowel inserted, denoting a hollow. In Hebrew there are several forms of it, קב, which our translators have literally rendered the "cab" of dove's dung in 2 Kings vi. 25; כף, the "hollow" of Jacob's thigh, Gen. xxxii. 26; and the palm of the hand, Psa. xxvi. 6; and כב noted by Gesenius as obsolete.

Nola, however, is certainly used by Quintilian, though we cannot produce any classical use of *campana.* The former is described by Holyoke, in his *Vocabularium Anglo-Latinum*, 1671—a copy of which remarkable book I found in Thetford Grammar School Library—as "a little bell hung about a dog's neck, or birds' legs, so such an one as is hung at an horse's breast or ear: also any small bell, as a Saint's, Sance or Sacring bell." He mentions also the diminutive *nolula.* There can hardly be a doubt that it is akin to "knoll," "knell," and like forms in German.

The word *æs* by itself denoted a larger and more sonorous instrument, such as in after-times was known by the designation *signum*, a case of the derivation of the name of a thing from its use. An excellent and early example of the purpose to which it was applied may be found in

the last book of Martial's *Epigrams* (xiv. 156). The book, like its predecessor, is a striking collection of elegiac distichs on common-place subjects, domestic animals, garden vegetables, wines, games, implements, all things of everyday occurrence. Naturally, among them comes *tintinnabulum*, followed by—

> "Redde pilam: sonat æs thermarum, ludere pergis?
> Virgine vis sola lotus abire domum."

The gong rings out, and is to be obeyed. The ball must be laid aside for the bath. The occurrence of *tintinnabulum*, as apparently an equivalent for *æs thermarum*, is to be observed. It is clear that in Martial's time the former was not restricted to the little crotals with which we are wont to associate it. Hieronymus Magius, in the eighth chapter of his treatise *De Tintinnabulis*, gives his readers a fine engraving of a well-clothed elephant with a bell hung to his neck by a cord, which, from its size, would serve as a treble in a village set of four or five.

There are a few other names which will be dealt with should they occur, as we pass on to greater developments in the latter days.

Chronological order recommends itself for a national work; and I have thus enlarged on the traces which we possess of instruments of percussion from primitive times, as affording some basis for our investigation of the more trustworthy sources of information which are open to the inquirer as he reaches the period of historical records, local documents, and, above all, of ornamented and inscribed bells, frequently bearing those marks by which their makers handed their works down to posterity.

I began my work in Suffolk, a boy of fourteen, and

before I had passed out of my youth I was in touch with Dr. Amherst D. Tyssen, who led the way with his *Sussex*. In a little time I numbered among my correspondents the patriarch of campanologists, the late H. T. Ellacombe, the recorder of three western counties. It is only just that I should speak of the advantages which I have thus gained from the experience of these friends and others: Thomas North, who, in great physical weakness, recorded five of the Midland counties, and, dying, left a sixth, Hertfordshire, to be completed by the late John C. L. Stahlschmidt, himself the historian of Kent and Surrey; Mr. Cocks and Rev. T. M. N. Owen, who have so successfully worked up Buckinghamshire and Huntingdonshire; Mr. H. B. Walters, F.S.A., of the British Museum, whose book on *Ancient Pottery* has just appeared, and who is collecting the Essex inscriptions with a view to publication; and a host of friends in various parts of England, too numerous to mention. These have climbed towers, not always an easy task, and sent me rubbings and casts of the legends and marks which they have found. With deep gratitude to them, one and all, I proceed to chronicle to the best of my power the Bells of our Fatherland.

Of the following nineteen chapters, the next will be devoted to such remains as we have of the British period. The Saxon period will then receive notice, with reference to its towers, and mention of bells by early chroniclers. This will bring us to the fourth chapter of the book, which will cover the days of the Norman kings. The fifth chapter will embrace the thirteenth century, and in this we begin to see existing instances of ancient bells. Then melodious sequences, rings of bells, will appear, and development in shape will be recorded in the sixth chapter; and in the

seventh the reader will be introduced to dedicatory and other inscriptions, initial crosses, foundry marks, and Longobardic lettering. By this time we shall be able, in the eighth chapter, to enter on the history of the earlier foundries, as at London, York, King's Lynn, etc. The ninth chapter will bring us to the days of black-letter inscriptions, with many a more or less faulty hexameter. Here gun-founding must have a passing word. The great foundries of the later Plantagenet period will occupy the three following chapters, divided locally, so as to take successively: (1) the Metropolis and the South-West of England, (2) the South-East, and (3) the North and Midlands. In the thirteenth chapter we shall notice itinerant founders, and mediæval foreign bells to be seen in England. This will be followed by the history of later foundries, to the present day. The early history and subsequent development of change-ringing, with the consequent improvements in hanging, will require a chapter to themselves; and then I shall give an account of English *signa*, or bells of unusual size. The seventeenth chapter treats of chimes and carillons. Then the reader will find a change to less material subjects, for bell legends, bell poetry, bell law, will be found to occupy the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH PERIOD

IN dealing with the British Period, the great variation of condition in different parts of the land must be borne in mind. The distinction between the Bret and the Gael is not the only cleavage in the population. Frequent immigrations of tribes made the seaboards the scene of many a change; as the older peoples, annoyed at the arrivals which they could not resist, betook themselves farther up country.

"Longe humanissimi sunt qui Cantium incolunt," are the well-known words of Julius Cæsar. So likewise the Parisii, on the south-east of Yorkshire, may be regarded as better furnished with the appliances of life than were the Brigantes; the Silures than the Ordovices; while the Western Midlanders, whose forests rendered them more unapproachable than tribes among mountains and floods, may be regarded as the worst off of all. As to routes of communication, we are in a great measure left to conjecture, without documents, without inscriptions to guide us, till the arrival of the Roman. There must have been some tolerable roads, because there were chariots, *essedæ*, or *esseda*. When Julius Cæsar was campaigning in Gaul, he had with him one Trebatius, a friend of Cicero's, to whom he wrote, "Tu

qui cæteris cavere didicisti in Britannia, ne ab essedariis decipiaris caveto." Where chariots went, hawkers' carts could and would go. In Antonine's Itinerary, which I think dates from quite early in the third century, the great mass of names of stations are to all appearance British, and it seems impossible that these communities should be without communication. Thus the tinklers made in far-away lands would pass along what was afterwards called the Watling Street, and perchance be stored for supply at such a place as *Venones*, or High Cross, where the Foss Way from Lincoln comes in.

In Ellacombe's supplement to *The Church Bells of Devon* is a chapter of some ninety pages and more devoted to *tintinnabula*, in which will be found a choice collection of specimens of divers kinds of these small handbells. I gladly avail myself of his labours, and the more so from the free exchange of information which passed between us during his lifetime. There seem to have been two main forms of these little objects—the open and the closed; the gong and the globe. Of these, the former may take the palm for antiquity. They would begin by being nearly flat, and gradually develop through the saucepan form into the bell. Layard * found about eighty of the latter type, with iron tongues, in a copper cauldron at Nimroud. On analysis, it was discovered that they contained copper and tin in the ratio of 10 to 1. Near Hyderabad were found three, which are now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society in Bombay, about four inches high. Two of them, of very primitive shape, were of wrought copper; the third, of far more elaborate form, of cast bronze. These instances I quote as selected from a vast number, from cairns or temples in Egypt and the East. Both

* *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853, p. 177.

forms, the closed and the open, find mention in one of the Homeric hymns (xiii. 3):—

Ἢ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχή.

In England the crotal form prevails in ancient barrows, and has remained unchanged through the ages. One was found in the rood-staircase of Woodton Church, in Norfolk, not many years ago, and was in the possession of the rector, the Rev. F. E. Long. Another used to hang on a bunch of keys, and was given to me by a kind Fressingfield parishioner, Mr. Simeon Titchmarsh; and both of these greatly resemble that found in 1844 by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, in a barrow on Headington Hill, Oxfordshire, and another, numbered 40 in Ellacombe's supplement, the locality of which is not given. To what purposes these crotals were applied is rather obscure. As far back as the fifth century B.C. pomegranates and apples were placed at the butt end of spears, taking the place of the usual σαυρωτήρ, by means of which the spear was stuck into the ground at night, as Homer tells us.* For these substitutes for spikes we are indebted to Herodotus,† in his account of the retinue of Xerxes; and if pomegranates had a sacred meaning as symbolizing the fruitful powers of nature, why should not μῆλα have the same meaning? The former would be a poor substitute for the spike, but the latter still more so. Yet we have to the same effect this passage from the epitome of Dion Cassius by Xiphilinus:‡ Τὰ δὲ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, ἀσπὶς καὶ δόρυ βραχὺ, μῆλον χάλκειον ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ στύρακος ἔχον, ὥστε σεισόμενον κτύπειν. Seven or eight centuries intervene between Xerxes and the Britons as described by Dion Cassius, but the μῆλον is practically the same in both cases.

* *Iliad*, x. 153. † vii. 41. ‡ xxxvi. 12.

The union of pomegranates and *κῶδωνα* is certainly suggestive of the fringe of Aaron's robe. The Septuagintal word for Aaron's bells is *κώδωνες*, not *κρόταλα*, which implies the concave form rather than the spherical. The Hebrew word is פעמון, connected with the idea of striking.

The globular or spheroidal instruments would not be readily capable of adjustment for melodious sequence of sounds. Time and experiment seem to have had a better influence with the cast dish-shaped cymbals. I use this word, by the way, more in accordance with the modern conception of its meaning than with its etymological origin. These shapes did not exhaust the ingenuity of the *campanarians* of distant days. Desirous of larger instruments, and yet embarrassed by fusorial difficulties, they found a way to produce another kind of bell without passing the melted metal through a mould. Two trapezoidal sheets of metal, sometimes iron, sometimes bronze, were bent at the edges so as to be riveted together, the resulting figure being a truncated wedge on an oblong base, with the corners of the wedge rounded off. Then this was dipped into molten copper or bronze, with the attainment of a musical note of no great excellence. If the conjecture which I venture to advance is true, the dipped method will run back in Greece to some five centuries before the Christian era. There seems to me to be an allusion to it in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus,* in a passage which has been the trouble of many a commentator. Clytemnestra is asserting her innocence, and says that she knows no more of conjugal infidelity than of the "dipping of copper," as it stands in the text—

πῶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.

* *Agamemnon*, 593.

The Scholiast explains χαλκοῦ by σιδήρου, as though the expression gathered up into itself the dipping of iron into copper. If my view be right, and the invention recent, the interpretation of Welcker and Klausen would hold good, their view being that reference is made to an invention recent and not generally known, "as if," says Professor Conington, writing about 1847, "a modern dramatic writer must make one of his characters say, 'I know no more of it than of working the Daguerreotype.'" In making this conjecture, I must not omit the mention of the interpretation of the highest authorities as to some secret art of staining bronze, backed up by passages from Plutarch and Euripides. Whatever Æschylus may have intended to convey by the words χαλκοῦ βαφάς, there can be no doubt that this method of literally manufacturing bells was practised in these islands in British times.

One of the best instances is that of a bell exhibited by the late Dean Merewether, of Hereford, at the Carnarvon meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association more than fifty years ago. I give the details in his own words from the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*— *

"This bell was found at Marden, Herefordshire, in cleaning out a pond, below the mud and rubbish which had accumulated for centuries, and at a depth of eighteen feet below the level of the adjacent ground. The pond is only a few yards from the church, built on the spot where the body of St. Ethelbert, murdered by Offa, was said to have been deposited, and in which there is still a hole in a stone in the floor, where, tradition says, the body rested, and a miraculous spring arose. The pond is in a field belonging to the vicar. The site of the vicarage house has been asserted to have been that of Offa's palace; whilst others claim that distinction for

* v. 330.

'Sutton Walls,' about a mile off, and which was evidently a Roman encampment, though possibly afterwards occupied by Offa, and his palace built thereon. It is an elevated spot, and in the area there is a hollow still called the King's Cellars, where, it is said, a precious diadem was found some years since. The bell appears to have been formed of a sheet of bell metal, which had been hammered into shape, and it is riveted on each side; the handle at the top is rounded beneath for the hand; the clapper is gone, but there is a loop inside from which it was suspended."

Mr. Westwood describes it as very much corroded, even to small holes in a few places. The dimensions are—

Height, without the handle	...	12 inches
Widest diameter at mouth	...	$7\frac{1}{2}$,,
Narrowest ,, ,, ...	...	5 ,,
Widest diameter above ...	...	5 ,,
Narrowest ,, ,, ...	...	3 ,,

The position of Marden is at the middle of the county of Hereford, so near to Wales as to lead those who discussed its history to attribute it rather to British than to Saxon times. In confirmation of this view, I may refer to the Clog-na-fulla, or Bell of Blood, which I was allowed to examine many years ago by the kindness of Dr. Marcus Beresford, then Bishop of Kilmore, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. The dimensions which I took were—

Length of a side	...	$9\frac{1}{2}$ inches
Length of crown	...	$5\frac{1}{4}$,,
Greatest diameter	...	$7\frac{1}{2}$,,
Least diameter at mouth, about	...	$5\frac{1}{2}$,,

The shape seems to correspond, and the size too, with the Marden bell. "There are two holes in the longer diameter of the crown, through which a stout iron wire, as thick as an

extra-sized lead pencil, passed—the upper part forming a semicircular canon, and the lower terminating in two hooks (only one of which remains) for hanging the tongue upon, as I presume. The bell is not in a high state of preservation, but, testing it by a piano, which may be supposed to be something below concert-pitch, its note seemed to be F." * This type of riveted bell remained on through many generations, and may be seen now on the Wiltshire Downs as sheep-bells. I have certainly seen fragments of them in Suffolk, and will endeavour to recover some. Ellacombe mentions a family by the name of Potter, of Market Lavington, who have made them for generations. He says that their bells are so sonorous that on a still night they may be heard on Salisbury Plain, at a distance of four miles. The method of manufacture had become more developed in the hands of the men of Market Lavington. When the sheets of iron had been riveted, the intended bell was bound with narrow strips of brass. Borax was used for flux. Then the whole was enveloped in loam or clay and heated in a furnace, by which both the brass strips and the iron sheets got melted and intermingled. Thus a far more sonorous effect was obtained. A more elaborate example (Fig. 2) is engraved in several books from an early MS. in the Cotton Collection (Tib. C., vi. f. 17).

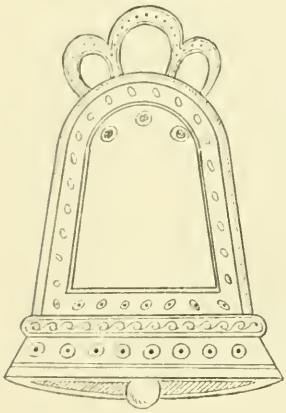

FIG. 2.

Another important object in the Beresford Collection was

* From my MS., *A.* 131.

a bell called Barre Garreagh, evidently a very early specimen of casting, for the shape, the truncated wedge on an oblong base, is scrupulously followed, save that in this the crown is higher and slopes up gradually from the shoulder. It is much smaller than the Clog-na-fulla, the height from rim to crown being only 8 inches; the greatest diameter at the mouth is 6½ inches, and the least is 4½ inches. The ratio between them is therefore 1·4, which is practically the same as that in the Marden bell, 1·5. The tongue seems to have been suspended by a single staple instead of two hooks, but only the ends remain. This staple was so placed that the broader sides of Barre Garreagh would have been struck. The handle, also longitudinal, was not cast in. I noted the metal as "latten or something of the kind," and that the bell was never good for anything, from flaws in the original casting. It is possible that among the treasures of the Vatican there may remain another early British bell.

St. Boniface, born at Crediton *c.* A.D. 680, educated first at Exeter, and afterwards at Nutshalling, or Nursling (*Nutscella*), a little below Rumsey, sent the Pope a present of a handbell, as it appears from his ninth letter: "Cloccam qualem ad manum habui tuæ paternitati mittere curavimus." The word *clocca*, used by him, is to be observed, for it is the usual Irish term, as in Clog-na-fulla, Clog-na-Mogue, etc.; and Dr. Reeves, in his edition of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, has notes on the two places in which it occurs there. Ellacombe speaks of the number of Irish and Welsh religionists resident at Exeter, Glastonbury, etc., and points out the probability of this kind of bell being in use thereabouts in Boniface's boyhood. Inquiry may, perchance, bring this bell to light.

The stream of history has carried us beyond the period

of the Saxon invasion, but the matter with which we are dealing is essentially British, as is also the case of the great St. Teilo, from whom are named Llandilo Vawr and other places. When in A.D. 622 he was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff (a date which takes us up-stream again)—

"The people presented him with a bell that was more famous than great, more valuable in reality than appearance, because it exceeded every organ in sweetness of sound; it condemned the perjured, it healed the sick, and, what appeared more wonderful, it sounded every hour without any one moving it; until, being prevented by the sin of men, who rashly handling it with polluted hands, it ceased from such sweet performance. Nor was he presented with such a gift unsuitably; for like as a bell invites men from the depths of sleep and slothfulness to church, so the eminent prelate, Teilo, being made a preacher of Christ, by incessant preaching wins them to heaven." *

Mr. Williams, in his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Cymry*, p. 188, speaks of a small bell presented to St. Teilo by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and called *Bangu*, apparently a phonetic name, for Sir Richard Hoare speaks of it as "kept in all the Welch churches," and in a passage in Giraldus Cambrensis there was a *Bangu* at Glasewn which was said to have belonged to St. David.

The purposes for which these small objects were employed were sundry and manifold. For assembling the people, the missionary priest would carry one or more about him. As the Church began more and more to become locally settled, a welcome and a notice of Divine Service would sound from some humble temporary building. The Word of Life, bringing hope and joy to many a heart, thus throws some hallowed meaning into the very material object which draws attention

* Translation of *Liber Landavensis*, p. 342.

to its message. The bell itself becomes sacred. To swear falsely on the bell is to aggravate the guilt of perjury. Giraldus Cambrensis, indeed, restricts this belief to Ireland, Scotland and Wales; but he is writing in the Norman period, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that a like belief was current through the whole island in British times.

"Both the laity and clergy in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales," are the words of Sir R. C. Hoare's translation, "held in such veneration certain portable bells, that they were more afraid of swearing falsely by them than by the Gospels, because of some hidden and miraculous power with which they were gifted; and by the vengeance of the saint to whom they were particularly pleasing, their despisers and transgressors were severely punished."

I cannot find a similar case of application of the bell to this judiciary end in other countries. Certainly after a time the Gospels asserted an equality with the bell in attesting the truth of evidence, and to them was added the candle, as in a well-known passage in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*—

> "As dies in hissing gore the spark,
> Quench thou his light, destruction dark."

Relics gifted with these and other dignities naturally demanded peculiar arrangements for their custody. It is obviously required in custodians, as in other stewards, "that a man be found faithful," * and to this end he must receive an adequate reward to make his office worth holding. Donors and testators, in their desire to preserve the holy bells intact, left money or land for their custodians. The custody became an inheritance, often attached to a title, perhaps more often to a territorial possession, an investiture, so that on the death of a custodian the bell would be

* 1 Cor. iv. 2.

placed in the hands of his heir, much in the same way as the key of a church is to this day placed on the hands of a new incumbent at induction to a benefice. In these early days the custody of such sacred things would have been entrusted to ecclesiastics. We have none now remaining in England, but in Scotland the transference of these endowments to lay impropriators has led, according to Scotch antiquaries,* to the preservation of some few of the relics of their saints of ancient days down to the present time. For instance, the *Sacra Campana Sancti Kessogii* and the *Sacra Campana Sancti Nolani* were included among the feudal investitures of the earldom of Perth, and are said to be referred to as recently as the year 1674.

A later instance still is in evidence from Argyleshire, where the parish of Kilberry takes its name from a famous old Celtic saint, St. Barry. His *clagan*, or handbell, certainly remained till the close of the eighteenth century in the possession of the principal heritory of the parish, and, according to the letter of Mr. Campbell, owner of Kilberry Castle, to Dr. Wilson, has a direct bearing on England. "The bell of St. Barry's chapel," he says, writing to Dr. Wilson, "is still in preservation at Kilberry Castle, and has long been prostituted to the ignoble purpose of summoning the servants of that family to their meals. It is inscribed with the saint's name in the Latin language and Saxon character, but unfortunately without date." Certainly this is rather puzzling. Bells of the age of St. Barry are never inscribed, much less dated. One can only imagine that the inscription was painted on the bell long after it was made. The Saxon character, if this is correct, seems to indicate a temporary migration into England, a thing by no means impossible in

* See documents quoted by Ellacombe, *Tintinnabula*, p. 323.

the days of raids. We shall find other cases of bells devoted to secular uses in conjunction with those of a spiritual character when we come to the Middle Ages. That these saints' bells were ornamented from time to time with silver and gold, engraved to receive lines of that black enamel called *niello*, is clear from other such relics, which may account for the discrepancy in language between the date and the inscription of the Kilberry bell. It is sad to read of its fate. Mr. Campbell writes, "I have heard my father say that it fell down and cracked; the metal was recast into another bell, which is here now. I have heard him mention the inscription, but do not believe there was any copy of it kept."

When the Saint's day came round, as we find it in the Calendar of our Prayer-book, where a few only remain, it would be appropriately marked by the ringing of the little bell which bore the beloved name. These festal days in many cases gave rise to the annual markets which retain the memory of one long departed, for instance, Downham "Winnals," at Downham Market, in Norfolk, commemorating the local St. Winwold. Mr. Tyack, in *A Book about Bells*,* records a curious usage which formerly prevailed at Congleton, in Cheshire. Like many north-country towns which have grown into importance in more recent times, Congleton is only a chapelry, the parish church being Astbury. The *libera capella* was dedicated in the name of *St. Peter-ad-Vincula*, the day being commonly known as Lammas, and the local wake was accordingly held on that day. But the alteration of the Calendar was not accepted at Congleton, as at many other places. The spirit of "give us back our eleven days" resulted in disregard of the intercalation, and

* Page 269.

as a consequence Congleton Wake is held on August 12 annually. Whether with reference to the sound of St. Peter's chains, I cannot say, but three acolytes (to use Mr. Tyack's word) used to parade the town at midnight on the vigil, girt about with leather belts to which were suspended a number of crotals, to judge by the illustration,* of just the character of those described. This ceremony was called "ringing St. Peter's chains," and ended with an address at the Market Cross on the approaching festival and the lessons to be drawn from it. But these bells, or "chains," became diverted from their original intention, and the performance became degraded to mere incentive to drunken jollity, rather than to a reverent recollection of the great Apostle. Finally, the town authorities intervened and took possession of bells and belts. Happily for the archæologist, they are preserved by the Corporation among other relics of bygone days.

The Passing Bell may well have been a custom of British Christianity, for as demons were banished by the sound of a bell, the time of departure of a soul would eminently need this help. There will be found in the Middle Ages much detail about ringing at deaths and after. It is a subject too sad and serious to deal with merely in the spirit of an antiquary, and it is as difficult to avoid superstition on the one hand as to be rid of unseemly levity on the other. I shall therefore take leave of the traces left in Irish archæology of many strange beliefs which probably were common to all the British races, Gael, Bret, Cymry, Belge, or by whatever name they be called.

The Roman invasions certainly brought to England many marvellous improvements. What we owe to them in road-making, in fortification, in building generally, in draining,

* By Mr. Robert Head, historian of Congleton.

and other material improvements, may very probably have extended itself through implements of cookery and agriculture to bells ; but we are almost totally destitute of proof. Legionaries from Cilicia, from North Africa, from Spain, in short, from all parts under Roman domination, became stationed all over Britain, from Northumberland to Cornwall, from Dunwich to St. David's. When the break-up came, early in the fifth century, it cannot be supposed that all departed. There were family ties and ties of possession to hold some. But we are without evidence, and must leave the subject in its obscurity. Dearth of material, indeed, is our lot in attempting to convey some idea of bells as they were in England till a considerable time after the arrival of the Saxon.

Architectural evidence is practically non-existent. The crotals and dipped-sheet bells constitute the chronicler's stock-in-trade, and in dealing with them as they were at the time it has become necessary to follow up their subsequent appearances. Evidence from records of the period, such as they are, only brings to light instances of the mysterious powers supposed to be inherent in them.

Progress in this period is slight enough, but evolution is by no means uniform in its working. Now and then comes a sudden acceleration of pace, the cause of which is beyond our ken. Some felicitous moment arises—a new idea comes into the head of one, a plan for carrying out into the head of another, and the dull uniformity of many generations gives place to advance, to increase of pleasure in life, to the removal of difficulties and dangers. At any rate, when Hengist and Horsa landed in Kent they did not find fewer bells than Julius Cæsar might have found in the same locality, if he had been possessed of leisure to hunt for them.

CHAPTER III

THE SAXON PERIOD

RETROGRESSION, rather than progress, appears to mark the first century and a half after the arrival of the brothers Hengist and Horsa. It is not till the coming of the missionary Augustine of Canterbury that we can discern in England the signs of the great Christian movement which had stirred the Franks in the days of Clovis, a hundred years previously. Yet periods of distress and disturbance are many a time prolific in gifts of poetry, music, and other arts, and these may have been much planned and perfected, only to be destroyed, in those decades over which a death-like silence broods, save for "wars and rumours of wars." The great success of St. Augustine's mission brought forth at once the sees of Canterbury, Rochester and London. Then followed York, Dunwich, the Oxfordshire Dorchester, Lindisfarne, the original of Durham, Winchester, Lichfield and Hexham from Lindisfarne, all in the space of about forty years. In A.D. 668 came the eminent Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, and with him the division into parishes, though this must have been a labour requiring more than his tenure of office, which did not last quite a quarter of a century. Of this list of cathedral churches nothing can be said as far as bells are concerned.

Yet one building remains, said to date from the time when Felix the Burgundian founded the East Anglian see, the "Old Minster" in the Southelmham half-hundred in Suffolk. But here there is nothing which can be construed into a campanile. The conjecture that where there was a bell it was hung in a tree, is likely enough. It would be used for many a purpose; and when, in Alfred's time, the shires were divided into hundreds, the hundred-mote would be summoned by its voice. Winstree Hundred, in Essex, and Theodwastre, in Suffolk, seem to take their names from the hundred-mote tree. The precarious nature of this temporary expedient called for something more permanent, and the constant troubles of the Danish wars gave more and more importance to the alarm bell. Wall-building was a marked feature of the reign of Edward the Elder. With walls came towers, and it is clear that by the time of his son Athelstan there were many towers, very likely of no great height, but high enough to send forth the warning note of a bell. So useful was this found that a law of that excellent king, passed in 926, made the existence of a bell-tower on an estate the *sine quâ non* of thanedom. By this, that union between religion and secular justice, between the spiritual and the material, between Church and State, which, in some form or other, is inevitable, though the form may change from time to time, became a notable feature of English life. The tower, in the churchyard and generally close by the moated grange, contained the bell which proclaimed Divine service, announced meals and hours for work, heralded the hundred-mote or the parish gathering, and roused the neighbourhood in case of fire or plunder. The decree of Athelstan was so fruitful that at the present day a large number of towers, some round, some square, can be named

which belong to the later Saxon period, terminating 180 years after this notable ordinance.

Nor must the bases of many other towers besides these pass unnoticed. The casual observer often asks the date of a church, forgetting that centuries may have elapsed between the foundation and the clerestory. So, too, of the towers. The smaller landowner, in his efforts after the glory of thanedom, necessarily taxed his resources heavily. Where other circumstances were unfavourable, operations had to be suspended for a season, till the right time came, if not for completion, at any rate for putting an additional stage to the tower.

The antiquity of the pointed arch must here be discussed. Fergusson, in his *Handbook of Architecture*,* enters on the topic in dealing with Saracenic structures, demonstrating its necessity in some cases of vaulted roofing. He remarks that—

"It is scarcely probable that the Saracenic architects would have used this form so early and so generally as they did, if it was not a usual and a customary shape of arch in the East at the time when they first began to build. There is every reason to suppose that this was the case; and that from the time of the building of the sepulchral chambers at Mycenæ to the Christian era there is no difficulty in tracing it in Greece, in Etruria, and in Asia Minor wherever a Pelasgic or Oriental people are found."

In another place he speaks of it as—

"Currently used in the East from at least the time of Constantine," adding, "We need not, therefore, feel surprised that a people trading with the Levant from their great port of Marseilles should have thence borrowed this feature; or perhaps we might rather say that a people descended from a colony of Pelasgic Greeks should revive an old and

* Pages 381, 599.

time-honoured form, when they found it particularly suited to their constructive purposes. So remarkably suitable, indeed, was it, that we should not wonder even if they had actually invented it *de novo*, and it is not without regret that we perceive it abandoned or perverted."

Backed by these considerations, which are something beyond a mere expression of opinion, we need not hesitate to include among our Saxon towers several which have, especially in the lowest stage, a single window with the equilateral arch.

In monastic life there are earlier notices of the use of bells. One of the most remarkable is that given by Bede.* The Abbess Hilda is passing away from this world in the house at Strenaeshale, or Whitby. Thirteen miles away is Hackness (Hacanos), just founded by her.

"Erat in ipso monasterio quædam sanctimonialis femina, nomine Begu, quæ xxx. et amplius dedicata Domino virginitate, in monachica [*sic*] conversatione serviebat. Hæc tunc in dormitorio sororum pausans audivit subito in aere notum campanæ sonum, quo ad orationes excitari vel convocari solebant cum quis eorum de sæculo fuisset evocatus; apertisque, ut sibi videtur, oculis, aspexit, detecto domus culmine, fusam desuper lucem omnia replevisse; cui videlicet luci dum sollicita intenderet, vidit animam præfatæ Dei famulæ in ipsa luce, comitantibus ac ducentibus angelis, ad cœlum ferri."

This was in the year 680, and the expression, "notum campanæ sonum," is of great moment, as showing the familiarity with the sound of the bell at the time in religious houses. There is no mention of the usage in the account of Bede's own death. Sometimes a *tabula* of wood is struck for the same object, of which instances are quoted in Plummer's *Bede*.† They are still used in the Eastern Church.

* *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv. 2.

† Introduction, p. xxvii.

The use of *signa*, or large bells, is decreed in the Excerptions of St. Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 750, and certainly not as novelties. "Ut omnes sacerdotes horis competentibus diei et noctis suarum sonent ecclesiarum signa, et sacra tunc Deo celebrant officia, et populos erudiant quomodo aut quibus Deus adorandus est horis." In the preceding century they are mentioned in monastic Rules, for instance those of St. Benedict, and in such a way as to imply that they had been in use for some time.

To revert to towers. We owe to Rickman a great impulse given to the subject of Saxon remains, which was brought under his notice first by his friend Twopeny in 1826. The latter had been at work all over England, discovering portions of Saxon work from Whittingham in Northumberland to the east end of North Burcombe church in Wiltshire. A few years afterwards John Henry Parker increased Rickman's list well-nigh sevenfold. The following towers were claimed by him, though not all without hesitation, as Saxon: in Bedfordshire, Clapham; in Berkshire, Wickham and Cholsey; in Bucks., Caversfield and Lavendon; in Cambridge, St. Benet's; in Durham, Monks Wearmouth; in Essex, Holy Trinity Church, Colchester; in Gloucestershire, Deerhurst; in Huntingdonshire, Woodstone, noted by Parker, and now destroyed; in Kent, Swanscombe; in Lincolnshire, Clee, Holton-le-Clay, Waith, and St. Peter-at-Gowts and St. Mary-le-Wigford in Lincoln; in Norfolk, Newton-next-Castleacre; in Northamptonshire, which bears the palm for the grandeur of its work, "the four B's," Barnack, Brigstock, Brixworth, and Earl's Barton; in Northumberland, Bolam; in Oxfordshire, St. Michael's, Oxford, and according to Bloxam, Northleigh; in Suffolk, Parker only notes Ilketshall,—there are four adjacent

parishes of that name, and I presume that he means either St. Andrew's or St. Margaret's—but the county abounds in round towers, many of which, in my opinion, come under the head of Saxon lower stages with later additions; in Sussex, Bosham and Sompting; and in Warwickshire, Wootton Wawen.* East Anglia is the land of round towers. Suffolk contains forty-five of the whole, almost all the rest being in Norfolk; there are three in Cambridgeshire—Bartlow, Snailwell, and Westley Waterless; and in Northamptonshire only Slapton. The absence of good stone is one reason to account for the round tower, and the proximity of the same accounts for the excellence of the Northamptonshire square towers. Consonances of bells, such as were indisputably in existence in the later Saxon period, were the very tenants most suitable for the Barnack type of tower.

Development in bells and belfries seems to have been simultaneous, and towards the end of the period we are presented with a well-known example of both in the history of the great Abbey of Crowland, in South Lincolnshire.

Like many other monasteries, it rose from a hermitage. To this place, then a small patch of tolerably firm ground in the midst of treacherous bogs, occasionally covered with thick underwood, but more commonly stark and staring in their native blackness, and affording but an insecure footing to bitterns and snipes, came by divine guidance Guthlac, a man of noble family, his clerk Betelin, and a man Tatwin, acquainted with the country, who directed their course to the desired spot. After the death of Guthlac, Ethelbald, who became King of the Mercians in 716, erected a monastery

* This list of Saxon towers has been greatly increased by later and more careful research. Professor Baldwin Brown's list of 1903 (*The Arts in Early England*, ii. 335–343), slightly supplemented by Dr. Cox, includes about seventy examples of pre-Conquest towers in addition to those named by Parker.

to the hermit's memory at great charge and with no small difficulty, as is evidenced by the lines of Felix, "a pretty ancient monk," as Camden calls him—

"Nunc exercet ibi se munificentia Regis,
Et magnum templum magno molimine condit.
At cum tam mollis, tam lubrica, tam male constans
Fundamenta palus non ferret saxea, palos
Præcipit infigi quercino robore cæsos,
Leucarumque novem spatio rate fertur arena ;
Inque solum mutatur humus, suffultaque tali
Cella basi, multa stat consummata labore."

We owe no small gratitude to Camden for his translation of these pretty hexameters of Felix—

"Now here the Prince's bounteous mind was shown,
And with vast charge a stately pile begun.
But when the trembling fenns, the faithless moor
Sinking betray'd the stony mass they bore ;
At his command huge posts of lasting oak
Down the soft earth were for a basis stuck :
Nine leagues the labouring barges brought the sand :
Thus rotten turf was turn'd to solid land ;
And thus the noble frame does still unshaken stand."

Thus the hermit life of Guthlac and his two companions in their huts excavated from the side of a mound of turf, rewarded by many a miracle, was commemorated. Whether they had small bells is not on record, but they wanted them badly for purposes of exorcism.

"If out of the same author," says Camden, "I should describe the *Devils of Crowland*, with their blubber lips, fiery mouths, scaly faces, beetle heads, sharp teeth, long chins, hoarse throats, black skins, hump shoulders, big bellys, burning loins, bandy legs, tail'd buttocks, *&c.*, that formerly haunted these places, and troubled

Guthlacus and the Monks, you'd laugh perhaps at the story, and much more at my madness in telling it."

Two centuries and a half rolled away from the date of the foundation, and Turketyl, cousin and Chancellor to King Edred, was hospitably received at the house, put off the lay habit, became Abbot, endowed the Abbey with numerous manors, commenced and carried out a more extensive set of buildings, and, what is more to our immediate purpose, made one great bell, which he named Guthlac. The seventh Abbot, Egelric, nephew and successor to Turketyl, added six more: two large ones, Bartholomew and Betelin (the thumb of the former was among the relics of the place, and Turketyl had always carried it about with him; Betelin has just been mentioned as Guthlac's clerk); two middle ones, Turketyl and Tatwin, the latter Guthlac's guide; and two small ones, Pega and Bega, the former the sister of Guthlac, herself a devotee of good fame in Northamptonshire, from whom Peakirk takes its name, and Bega, the Saint Bee of the north. The scale arrangement of the seven bells may not have been in accordance with our ideas, but they failed not to please, and the chronicler Ingulphus records, "nec erat tunc tanta consonantia campanarum in tota Anglia." These words are well worth observation, clearly indicating that before the year 1000—for Egelric's office ended in 984—there must have been a considerable number of peals of bells in England. Dr. William Stukeley, himself a "Hollander," a native of the south-east of Lincolnshire, practising as a physician at his native Holbeach and at Boston, says that "they resounded with melody through the extended plains of Holland; whence the proverb 'as sweet as Croyland bells.'"

As to the tenor of this peal, Bell Guthlac, its powers were

not limited to charming the ear. According to Thomas Fuller, its sound was a remedy for the headache! Alas! that no trace remains of this ancient and glorious seven. The chronicler tells us nothing of their founder's name or locality. They remained, a local marvel, for little more than a century. Then in Ingulphus's own abbacy came the fire of 1091—breaking out in the belfry. The Abbot ran to the church door, and tried to get in, but had a narrow escape from the melted metal which poured down from the tower. Soon down came the tower and, with its bells and frames, whatever they were, became a ruin. Later on we shall have to record a modified renaissance. The seven bells which so delighted the ears of the "Hollanders" may have ranged *la, si, ut, re, mi, fa, sol,* which, according to Eberhard,* was the arrangement for a set of small bells.

There are two well-known illustrations of these little sets suspended from an arch, and struck with a hammer. Five is the number in each instance, and the scale ascends from the player's right hand to his left. The older one is from a MS. of St. Blaise, assigned by some even to the ninth century, but certainly not later than our Saxon period. The bells seem round-mouthed, hung on a horizontal cord across a round arch. One pillar supporting is drawn, surmounted by a representation of a stone-built bell-cot with two windows. Another, from a MS. in the Royal Library at Brussels, gives a female with two hammers, playing on four bells suspended by a cord across an arch. As the draughtsman has placed her directly under the cord, it is hard to say whether the sequence upwards is from her right hand or her left hand. A third, which will be familiar to all students of bell literature, portrays King David in crown and robes, performing with

* Quoted by Ellacombe, *Tintinnabula*, p. 307.

two hammers on five bells, which are suspended from cusps in a four-centred arch. The order of the bells is upward in tone from the right hand, as in the St. Blaise MS. Though this is clearly of a later date, it is probably an adaptation of the same subject in an earlier style.

The Crowland Chronicles have introduced to us the practice of naming bells after persons of good repute. This practice was a part of the ceremony of dedication, used not only for bells, but for all the material accessories of Divine worship. In this dedication there is thought to have been included a cleansing with holy water, which seems to have obtained the name of baptism, which is certainly forbidden by Charlemagne in one of his Capitularies issued in 789. There is a difficulty in understanding what was forbidden. Some suppose that the ceremony had been extended from bells used in the church to those in private possession, and that it was conducive to superstitious and unauthorized practices. Others again think that the service had become developed from solemn dedication to acts not distinguishable from personal baptism. I will revert to this subject in my last chapter. The injunction, if intended to prohibit ceremonial cleansing at the dedication of church bells, was ineffective, as testified by Durandus: "Etsi capitularia Caroli Magni, anno 789, jubeant ut Clocæ non baptizentur, antiquus tamen usus Ecclesiæ obtinuit, ut signorum ceu Campanarum benedictio Baptismi indigetur." Here a distinction is observable between *Clocæ* on the one part, and *Signa* or *Campanæ* on the other, rather favouring the interpretation of those who think that the dedication, by washing, of little bells in private possession was the thing prohibited by the Capitulary. Martene,* whom Ellacombe quotes, distinguishes between

* III. cap. 31.

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"unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum" and "lotio, unctio, nominis impositio, quæ tam baptismum quam baptismi signa et symbola representare dicenda sunt." The testimony of that eminent scholar, Alcuin, should have great weight, when it is borne in mind that he was a native of York, and educated at the Minster School, of which he afterwards became master. His youth and early manhood were passed under the influence of Archbishop Egbert; his more mature years at first under Archbishop Ethelbert. When that prelate died, in 781, Alcuin was sent to Rome for the pallium for the new Archbishop. On his return journey he met Charlemagne at Parma, evidently made a great impression on that monarch, and in the following year was induced to leave the land of his fathers, and devote himself to the work of educating, first the royal family, and in the end many of the uncultivated Franks. He was engaged in these labours at Aix-la-Chapelle, under the Emperor's eye (the Emperor being sometimes under his eye, as voluntary pupil), at the very time when this Capitulary was put forth. We can hardly fail to see his hand in it. His words, as quoted by Roccha* are, "neque novum videri debet Campanas benedicere et ungere, eisque nomen imponere." Here there is no mention of *baptisma* or even *lotio*. To the same effect the late Dr. Oliver, a priest in the Roman Catholic Church, recognized by all who knew him as one of profound antiquarian and ecclesiological research, informed Mr. Ellacombe, that the baptism of bells had never obtained in the Roman Church, but only the setting apart from all secular uses—benediction, consecration. *Per contra*, in the Pontifical of Pope Clement VIII. (1592–1605), in directions *De Benedictione Signi vel Campanæ, vas aquæ benedicendæ* and *aspersorium* are

* *Commentary*, c. v.

enumerated; and after appropriate prayers and the mingling of salt with the water, follows: "*His peractis, Pontifex acceptâ mitrâ, incipit lavare Campanam cum dictâ aquâ; et ministri prosequuntur lotionem, lavantes eam totaliter intus et extra, deinde cum linteo mundo extergunt.*"

My function in this chapter is to endeavour to ascertain what was the practice at the dedication of bells. If I cannot reconcile my authorities, it is at least a consolation to know that many others have been placed in the same predicament. In Germany many treatises on bells in Latin were put forth; some as University Acts, in the seventeenth century. Some of these are in my possession; and I quote from a dissertation by Hans Christian Reimann, published at Eisenach, in 1679. After a strong condemnation of the practice, he continues: "Et quidem Johannes hujus nominis xxiii. Pontifex Romanus, A.C. DCCCCLXV. primum Campanarum baptizationem instituit, magnamque Lateranensem Campanam de suo nuncupari voluit nomine, indeque mos inolevit præposterus maximeque absurdus Campanas consecrandi aquâ, humanisque insigniendi nominibus." For this he quotes Osiander, Wolf, Hunn, Dannhauer, and above all Baronius and Bellarmine. He adds, not without a sense of humour, "Sed hodie nonnullos Doctores Pontificios ipsos, qui emunctionis naris sunt, talismodi Campanarum baptismi pudet, quas propterea baptizari negare malunt." As an example of this view he cites "Mich. Anton. Frances de Urrutigoyti," who, like the "jewel in the head of a toad," is "unknown to us" (to use the language of one old-fashioned Latin dictionary), the author of a book on Cathedral Churches, "ubi prolixe agit de Campanais, negatque omnino baptizandas sed duntaxat benedicendas esse fatetur." But Reimann will not suffer this: "Sed quid negatione opus, cum Durandus, lib. I de

ritibus Eccl. c. 22 expressè dicat: *Baptizantur Campanæ.*" He proceeds to quote other authorities, and later instances of baptism, which could now be multiplied *ad infinitum.* Many witnessed the ceremony near Honfleur, at a village called Bonneville, in 1902.

Among the sparse memorials of the days before the Conquest is an item in the inventory of the goods of the church of Sherburn-in-Elmet, in the early part of the tenth century, preserved at York: "iiij hand bellan & vj hangende bellan." * In a representation of the funeral of Edward the

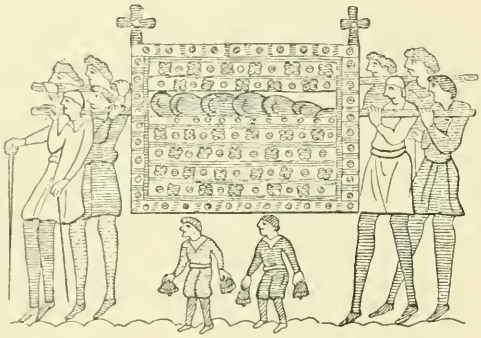


FIG. 3.

Confessor, on the Bayeaux tapestry, two boys are depicted as ringing two handbells apiece (Fig. 3). Inventories of the tenth century are verily rarities; but were others to come to light, it could hardly fail that there would be no lack of similar items. The hand of the destroyer, however, has rendered the recovery of most a matter for despair. The man who burnt ancient documents because, as he said, "he could not read them, and believed that nobody else could," was a type of a large class all along the ages.

* Fabric Rolls of York Minster (Surtees Society).

Pre-Norman arrangements for hanging bells in turrets and swinging them are shown in the Chatsworth Benedictional of St. Ethelwold (Fig. 4), and in Royal MSS. 19 C, i. f. 57 (Fig. 5).

In closing this period we feel that at the end of the long series of Angle, Jute, and Saxon reigns, the life of the country has assumed a very different phase from that which first

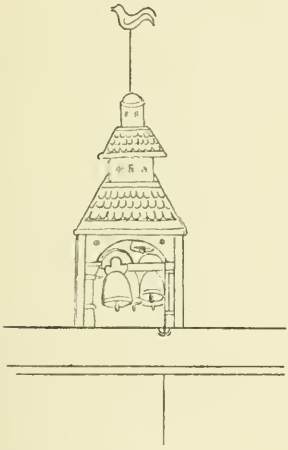


Fig. 4.

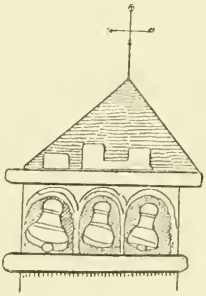


Fig. 5.

encountered us, and that bells have had their share in the development in manufacture and musical use.

The next chapter includes about a quarter of the time discussed in this chapter—a century and a half in the place of six centuries. The slow progress of the remote years will attain to greater velocity, and England really begins to make good her claim to be called "the ringing island."

CHAPTER IV

THE NORMAN PERIOD

I THINK it is clear, from the constant recurrence of "T. R. E." in Domesday Book, that some survey of the kingdom had been taken shortly before the Norman Conquest. Under these letters, however, I have failed to find any notice of a church. Parishes were far from being settled as to boundaries and jurisdiction, those of monks or manors being more definite. Lords of manors erected their bell-towers, or placed bells in little bell-cots on their houses, and sometimes, by performances of sacramental rites, stealthily at first, but gradually becoming more public, the *libera capella* passed into recognition as a parish church.

I have ventured to take my own rural deanery as a specimen, for comparing the end of the Conqueror's reign with the present day. The deanery of Hoxne now contains twenty-five churches. Of these, twelve are not referred to in the Domesday Survey. One certainly (Metfield) was a *libera capella* as late as the days of Henry V., and further investigation would in all probability bring others into the same category. Where abbeys and monasteries owned manors, their granges, often at a distance from the parish church to which they were supposed to be attached, were generally furnished with some chamber where a clerk could

perform the service at the appointed hours, and occupy his leisure in teaching the children, especially the sons, of the steward of the manor and his neighbours, sending on the more promising youth to the cloister school. For such purposes bells were of great service. Their sound has summoned, we may be sure, numbers of village lads to the acquisition of learning, which afterwards qualified them for the cure of souls. The local names not only of bishops and rectors, but of secular justices and other lay officials, frequently point to proximity, if not to a religious house, to some one of their manors. The impetus given to architecture by the coming of the Normans is shown markedly in their towers. All over the kingdom may be seen these grand witnesses to Norman liberality, artistic feeling, architectural skill, and trained workmanship.

France had been setting the example of the multiplication of bells in the same tower. M. Dieudonné Dergny, in *Les Cloches du Pays de Bray*,* considers that Maas set the example, when Bishop Aldéric had twelve cast for that cathedral. King Robert the Wise (996–1031) presented five to the church of St. Aignan, in Orleans, of which one was named after himself. The monks of Aumale laid claim to the possession of the most ancient bells of Normandy. At a later date the diocesan statutes of Saint Charles Borromée decreed that a cathedral should have from five to seven bells; a collegiate church, three; a parish church, two or three. From M. Dergny's account these, even where the statute was obeyed, seem to have been small, recast in succeeding generations with more metal. Still, there was quite enough going on in Normandy and the rest of France to give an additional start to the growth of that love of "steeple music"

* Page 8.

which, as we have seen, had already taken root in our land. The maximum of seven bells for a cathedral may be compared with the case of the perished Crowland Guthlac, Bartholomew, Betelin, Tatwin, Turketyl, Pega, and Bega, and the minimum of two with their successors. For some score and more of years the ears of the Hollanders longed in vain for some of the sweet notes from the Abbey, so dear to them. A little revival came in 1113, when a brazier of Boston, Fergus by name, gave two skillets to occupy the lowly belfry recently erected by the monks, who, helping themselves, were helped by this kind neighbour, a foretaste of the years of greater prosperity which the chronicler ventures to anticipate, "when we propose by the Lord's assistance to make alterations in all these matters for the better." When we read that Ingulphus, who died four years before the Boston artificer's gift, replaced among other requisites the bells, it would seem that these were handbells, and that this kind of ringing is all that is to be understood by the office assigned after the fire to Senian de Lak. He is made keeper of the church, and amongst his various functions he is to ring all notices in the church in the night and in the daytime, with a few exceptions when the duty is assigned to the monks. This reference to Fergus of Boston, who is called *brasiarius*, is the first appearance of the name of a bell-founder, and may give a hint as to the previous makers of bells. His locality is in the great port of Lincolnshire, St. Botolph's town, and his name brings rather a Caledonian savour with it.

The next star which rises above our horizon is Alwoldus of London, a good old Saxon name. My lamented friend, John C. L. Stahlschmidt, who served his year as Master of the Founders' Company, searched through Stow's *Annals*,

the *Liber Albus*, the *Liber Costumarum*, the Guildhall Letter-Books, and above all the Rolls of the Hustings Court, for all citizens who may have practised the craft of bell-founding. Most of them are designated *ollarius*, or potter; but there is no possible mistake about Alwold, who is *campanarius*. This date is *circ.* 1150.*

The doubling of the one bell which often sufficed in Saxon days has many an example in the double bell-cot of the Norman era. The gable of a church in smaller and poorer parishes proved a convenient place for some kind of bell-cot, and there are but few parts of England where they are unknown. In the illustrations to Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*† are a double bell gable of a very primitive order at Littleton, Hampshire; and a good genuine bell-cot at Northborough, Northamptonshire, strengthened by slender buttresses terminating at its foot, which is well elevated above the roof-ridge. At Kemsing, near Sevenoaks, in Kent; at my own Withersdale, in Suffolk; at Littleton, Hampshire; Manton, Rutland; Northborough, Northamptonshire, and elsewhere, are examples of the two bells in a simple bell-cot on the gable.

Canterbury Cathedral is described by the monk Gervasius, who witnessed the fire there in 1174, as having the tower, raised upon great pillars, placed in the middle of the church, like the centre in a circle, and having a gilt cherub on its apex. It is not clear whether this was Lanfranc's plan, or that of the priors Ernulph and Conrad, probably of the later period, for we read that Prior Conrad gave to Canterbury five large bells, the first and second of which required ten men, the third eleven, the fourth eight, and the fifth twenty-four

* *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders*, p. 72.

† Illustrations, Vol. II. pt. i. plate 32.

men to ring them.* At Lincoln Cathedral we have not at first the central arrangement. According to Stukeley,† there were two bells, the gift of Bishop Robert de Chesney (1148–1167), and during the seven years that the see was usurped by Geoffrey Plantagenet, the natural son of Henry II., who was never consecrated to his high office, among other ornaments which he bestowed on the cathedral, no doubt from its temporalities, possibly as a sop to his conscience, was a pair of large and sonorous bells. To this we have a twofold evidence—Giraldus Cambrensis and John de Schelby. Of Geoffrey Plantagenet Giraldus uses words which are followed closely by the other authority: "Ipse quoque ornatus ecclesiæ suæ plurimum propriis donariis amplificavit. Cui et inter cetera quoque campanas duas grandes, egregias atque sonoras devota largitione donavit." This pair was more wisely placed in one of the western towers, the lower stages of which were built about 1140.

When Paul of Caen became Abbot of St. Albans in 1077, after he had completed the central tower, he stored (*instauravit*) it with bells, but no number is given. Very soon an important addition was made to his store. There was an Angle thane, a dweller in the forests in that country, Lyolf by name, rich in goats and sheep, but suffering from the depredations of nocturnal thieves. Tired out with these troubles, he sold many of his animals and bought a bell, which he gave to the abbey. When he first heard its sound his joy broke forth into jocularity. "Eya, how sweetly my goats bleat and my sheep baa!" His wife presented another bell, and it is to be noted that the two rang out in pleasant accord.

The expressions used imply that these bells were the

* Ellacombe, *Miscellaneous Scraps*, p. 443.

† *Itinerarium*, p. 92.

outcome of some foundry, most likely in London, and that the founder had learned the way of casting them to a true sequence. Their melody so delighted the lady that she is reported to have said, "I do not believe that this couple lack God's favour, who hath united me and my husband in lawful matrimony and in the bonds of mutual love." And this is in very early Norman days. The solemn dedication of these bells was delayed till halfway through the twelfth century, when the noted chronicler, Geoffrey of Monmouth, just consecrated to his brief tenure of the see of St. Asaph, was visiting the Verulam abbey. At the request of Abbot Robert (1151–1166), he made chrism and holy oil, conferred orders, dedicated altars, and blessed the bells of the Church of St. Alban, as well small as great. It is surely not unreasonable that we should like to know what the Bishop of London, Ricardus Beaumis Secundus, previously Archdeacon of Middlesex, thought of all this. But our curiosity cannot be gratified.

When Leofric, Bishop of Crediton, removed the Devonshire see to Exeter in 1050, he found seven bells there already. "Erant autem antea nisi septem campanæ suspensæ, nunc sunt tredecim suspensæ, præter duodecim tintinnabula." Such are the words of a Saxon MS. in the Bodleian Library, quoted by Mr. Ellacombe in his opening words of *The Cathedral Bells of Exeter.*

To turn to East Anglia, the foundations of a great campanile still exist at Norwich, to the south of what is now the Erpingham gateway. They were laid bare in 1881, and showed the ground plan of a massive structure 36½ feet square, with a great circular projection at the north-east corner, presumably intended for a well staircase. There was also another projection on the east side, on the slant, possibly

the foundation of a buttress, of doubtful continuity. No evidence has been found as to the completion of this tower. The terrible riots of 1272 swept away the "great tower" and "the great belfry beyond the choir," but the order of narrative separates the former from the "great gate," and it may have been contiguous with the cathedral. There exists no known record of bells in the cathedral during the Norman period, but John of Oxenedes gives us two precious scraps about the celebrated Abbey of St. Benet at Hulme. Of Abbot Ælwoldus, who died two years after William the Conqueror, the chronicler writes, "ad consummationem perduxit ecclesiam cum campanario orientali, occidentali imperfecto a medio post se relicto." Richerus was the fifth abbot. Of him, Oxenedes says, "campanarium occidentale ad finem perfectum perduxit. Insuper et duas majores fundi fecit campanas." This Richer died in 1125. The use of *campanarium* for *campanile* is remarkable. The bells were clearly not the work of the Benedictines, and the neighbourhood and easy transit by water indicates Norwich as the seat of the foundry.

At Crowland the fire seems to have been owing to carelessness. At Ely, in 1111, it may be referred to lightning. "Eodem anno facta est tempestas validissima tonitruumque (*sic*) terribile, quo turris ecclesiæ de Heli cecidit et ecclesia succensa est."* Such calamities, in part, account for the absence of the ancient larger *signa* at the present day. But how were these huge bells sounded? *Pulsatio* is the word for the method. "Clocking," that is, pulling the clapper against the side of the bell, might have been in vogue for a time. It is not extinct now; but whether in earlier or later days, it is certain to bring its penalty. Unskilful or careless

* *Annales de Wintonia* (Ann. Monast. Rolls Series), ii. 44.

strikers fail to release the clapper. Vibration is interfered with, and if thermometric conditions are unfavourable at the time, and there be a weakness arising from the original casting, crack goes the bell. Besides, the note evolved by this easy method is apt to be both feeble and dull. Another plan must be found. *Percussio*, which suggests striking from the outside, would be liable to the same objection, would involve needless tower-climbing in the case of *signa*, and would be hardly possible in the case of bell-cots. The *cymbalum*, a gong, was a different instrument, and the *malleolus*, usually hung at its side, harmed it not. Useful examples of both practices are to be found in Mr. J. W. Clark's admirable edition of the observances in use at the Augustinian Priory, founded by Hugh Picot, close to the church of St. Giles near the castle at Cambridge in 1092, and removed by Pain Peverell to Barnwell twenty years afterwards. The sacrist, to whom was entrusted the care of all things necessary for the services of the church, is to be helped by a subsacrist, who in many other places is called matricularius. Among his duties are "signa pulsare, horologium temporare; ad matutinas et in estate post meridianam ad excitandos fratres in dormitorio nolam pulsare." * *Cymbalum* the signal for *prandium*, occurs in directions about the frater.

"Quando fratres exeunt processionaliter de ecclesia ad prandiendum, si custos ordinis semel percusserit cymbalum, licite possunt fratres manus abluere, et in refectorium intrare, et sedendo expectare. Si autem cymbalum non percusserit, forte quia prandium non est paratum, vel quia panis est in clibano, vel quia celerarius cum clave est alibi occupatus, tunc non debent manus abluere, set in sedibus suis in claustro sedere, et orare vel legere, quousque cymbalum percuciatur." †

* Page 72. † Page 156.

According to Durandus, this *cymbalum* was rung in the cloister; and there was a *squilla* for the refectory, while the clock had a *nolula*. These are proper subjects for *percussio*. The swinging of *campanæ* and *signa* had become matters of necessity, and though, as we have seen at Canterbury, it required quite an army of men to do the work—sixty-three men to keep five bells going—the difficulty had to be faced. The treading plank or planks, and the stock and gudgeons, were first brought into play. Then, with the help of the immortal lever, by which Archimedes professed himself able to move the earth if a standing-place were granted him, even the ponderous *signum* could be set going by the number required by a smaller *campana*. This is the parent of modern chiming, and, in a certain sense, of modern ringing. In no other way is the full sound of the bell more effectively sustained. The clapper is, of course, less moved in the swinging than the bell itself, and it is the latter that strikes the former, rather than the former the latter. As the two part company on the instant after impact, there is no interference with the vibration. Hence arises that solemn "sough" which fills the air and hangs about for two or three minutes after the chiming has ceased.

Improvements on the lever, which will be treated of in their turn, have given a certain power to the chimer, which he did not possess to any great extent in the days of that Archimedean engine. So, grand as the sound of each bell might have been, it was hard to get melody out of the tuneful company. This advance in striking necessitated a frame for the bell to hang in. It was then fastened to the stock, a block of strong wood, generally oak, a little longer than the diameter of the bell at the mouth, and the gudgeons

or pivots of iron, worked in sockets, which are still in some places called "brasses," indicating the bronze of which they were first made, though now they are usually of iron.

Unfortunately, few tower-bells in England exist that can be referred unhesitatingly to the twelfth century, or even to the early part of the thirteenth. The single bell at Chaldon, Surrey, may be mentioned as an instance. It can be said, however, with little hesitation, that the lever system led to a general use of the common method of attaching bell and stock to each other, though when this method came in we cannot say. Smaller cast bells soon came to have a handle cast to them at the time, and in the same mould, and as their size increased the handle became an arch. Then the arch became three arches, the largest in the middle; and to complete the plan, two half-arches projected from each of the supports of the middle arch at right angles. The stock was cut deep in the centre for the reception of this canon, or these canons; for both singular and plural forms are employed. In this way, the stock having the gudgeons screwed to the lower side of it, the bells became more and more under the control of the chimer, whose rope, fastened to the end of the lever, went down into the chamber called the *solarium*, a name still preserved by ringers in their word "soller." To this comparative ease of motion may be ascribed the phenomenon recorded by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Majora*, A.D. 1165: "Eodemque anno terræmotus factus est septimo Kalendas Februarii in Ely et Nortfolc et Sufoc, ita quod stantes prostravit, et campanas pulsavit."

In Walter of Odyngton's instructions for founding, to which we shall refer in the next chapter, he gives no detail as to this campanic head-gear. The earliest bells which we possess are cast with it. In every county some may be found,

rather long in shape, with sloping crowns, without letter, ornament, or any mark, save, perhaps, a few horizontal lines at the crown or lip, or both, which may have summoned the retainers of some thane or lord of the manor, when some "sufficient clerk," priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, or iad "primam habens tonsuram," did what in him lay in the way of Divine service. Such an one, as I think, yet hangs at the top of the gable of Wordwell church, on the heaths between Brandon and Bury St. Edmunds. I have also indicated the second at Kennett, Cambridgeshire, and the treble at All Saints', Cambridge, as of this character. Among suspected specimens are a pair at Pilton, Rutland; one at Llangystenyn, Carnarvonshire; the treble at Hauxwell, Yorkshire; the bell at Oare, and the trebles at Darenth and Luddesdown, Kent. In working up Dorset lately, I was informed of two inscriptionless pairs, in a gable at Broadway, in a turret at West Orchard. There are also two at North Wootton and three at Holwell, single bells at Plush, Mapperton, Buckland Ripers, and Hanford. This last is especially described as "pear-shaped." These by no means exhaust the Dorset list. In Mr. Lynam's Staffordshire book, pairs of blank bells are recorded at Amington, Bradley-le-Moors, and Sneyd, and solitary ones at Brereton, Dunston, Edingale, Marston, and Thorpe Constantine. Some of these, and other blank tinklers in all counties, might prove to belong to later times. The Eastern Counties have plenty of them; to name one, there is the larger of the two in the double bell-turret at Withersdale, already mentioned.

But this list must be taken for what it is, conjecture. There is no direct evidence, nor can there well be.

In following up the Canterbury history, we find that about sixty years after Prior Conrad's time a sixth was

added by Prior Wybert, much larger than any of Conrad's five. The account of it is, "Signum quoque magnum in clocario posuit, quod triginta duo homines ad sonandum trahunt," eight more than were required for Conrad's largest. The lever had not yet come in at Canterbury, it is plain. The plank system, still in use on the Continent, was in vogue; for, as Stahlschmidt justly observes, "Thirty-two men hanging on to a bell-rope is clearly impossible."

The history of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's during the Norman period must not pass unnoticed. A great influence was that of the third abbot, Baldwin (1065–1097), who, with the help of two energetic sacrists, Thurstan and Tolinus, planned and began the great Norman church of the abbey, working from the east. The scheme included a great central tower, which must have been carried to a considerable height in the abbacy of Robert II., who procured "a great bell, or the great bell" (the word being probably *signum*, which would admit of either translation) for a large sum.* Again, great progress was made in the days of Anselm, seventh abbot, who, like Abbot Baldwin, had two strong assistants in his sacrists Ralph and Herveus, who are described as "men of entire wisdom." Plans were changed, some of the recently erected structure was pulled down. The church of St. James was built, not, of course, as we now see it, with its tower, still called the Norman tower. What it had in the way of bells we know not, but a *clocarium* was built, in which, subsequently, a peal of bells was placed. And so when the immortal Sampson of Tottington became the tenth abbot, his reception was marked by a grand sound on more sides than one.

* I regret that I cannot quote from the original. My information comes mainly from Dr. M. R. James's admirable paper, *Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, series No. xxviii.

"To the gate-tower of the graveyard,
'Mid loud-clanging bells, and chanting,
All the convent went to meet him.
Samson, from his horse dismounting,
Barefoot walked within the portal.
Paused the organ, bells were silent,
As he neared the great High Altar,
Knelt in earnest supplication,
Kissed the shrine, and made his offering." *

One point, however, is missed in this pretty version of our friend Jocelin de Brakelond, who tells us that the reception of Abbot Samson was "with ringing of bells inside the choir and without." The latter were, of course, the bells in the *clocarium*. Those inside the choir—*tintinnabula*—may have been rung by hand, or suspended to a screen. There are instances of both kinds as we pass into later times. Small cast bells were evidently improving in make, and as files were used in tuning, they could be adjusted into proper sequence, and so chant-music of the Gregorian manner evolved from them. Ellacombe has given some good specimens of these little tinklers which had passed through the mould. One from Llandeasant, in the Isle of Anglesey,† was described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1861.

Another from the far north of Scotland, like the Barre Garreagh, has retained the shape of the riveted bell, though of cast bronze. It was found lying in a window in the parish church of Insh, which stands on a slight eminence at the north end of Loch Insh on the Spey. Both of these bells, as well as that of St. Fillan, have a moulding round the mouth, telling of the foundry rather than of the smithy. In

* *Abbot Samson*, by the Rev. R. W. Barber, p. 20.
† *Tintinnabula*, p. 317.

Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*, p. 383, is a notice of one described as an "Ancient Sanctus Bell," found at Warwick. It is of the "pear-shaped" order, with sloping crown. At the shoulder are a single moulded line and a double moulded line, while pairs are above and below the lip. The tongue is unduly large, which may account for a fatal fracture at the lip. The canon is of the hut form, with a round hole through it.

In closing this chapter with *tintinnabula*, the regret for something beyond historical evidence as to the Norman period is keenly felt by all who enter on the subject. Existing *signa* and *campanæ* are "conspicuous by their absence." Fires account for some of the destruction, but fall of towers for more. The allocation of bells to central towers is a structural error. Such buildings have enough to do to sustain their own weight. It is with good reason that Dr. Montague James remarks, in his *Essay on Bury St. Edmund's Abbey*, that "Norman towers, and particularly central towers, had a very marked habit of falling down;" and a notable example of this propensity was shown on September 23, 1210, when (on a fair, calm autumn day, according to the chroniclers, but in a horrible tempest according to a later account preserved in the Bodleian Library) "speciosum et valde spectabile beati Edmundi campanile" perished. Metal, however, must have remained. Huge broken pieces of *signa* were worth their weight in bronze, and so were great molten lumps collected after a fire from the ruined masonry. These passed into the hands of founders, and revived in the next century in many a tuneful peal.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THIS is a distinctly marked period in architecture. The fashion of the round arch has passed away, and the First Pointed style prevails. The traveller often finds his horizon diversified by the elegant towers and still more elegant spires which date back to this century. The tenants of the steeples, too, share in the general progress. Excessive length of bell gives place to a more rational and symmetrical form.

When the English Justinian, Edward I., is on the throne we get our earliest existing inscriptions on bells, and the rudiments of ornamentation are found in the care bestowed on the formation of letters.

The first instructions for making bells, which are known to us, are found in a treatise by Walter of Odyngton, a monk of Evesham, in the time of Henry III. They contain no directions about inscriptions, but so important are they that I inserted them in my *Church Bells of Suffolk*,* and I venture to reproduce them here. The manuscript, probably a copy made after the lapse of two centuries, is No. 410 in Archbishop Parker's collection in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and owes its preservation to the pains taken by the Archbishop to save such records from

* Pages 3 *et seq.*

destruction at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The chapter on bells, headed in red ink, "*De symbalis faciendis*," contains only eleven lines of text, and is to the following effect (recto of f. 17):—

"Ad simbola facienda tota vis et difficultas extat in appensione ceræ ex qua formantur et primo sciendi quod quanto densius est tintinnabulum tanto acutius sonat tenuius vero gravius. Unam appensam ceram quantamlibet ex qua formandum primum cimbalum divides in octo partes et octavam partem addes tantæ ceræ sicut integra fuit, et fiet tibi cera secundi simbali. Et cetera facies ad eundem modum a gravioribus inchoando. Sed cave ne forma interior argillæ cui aptanda est cera alio mutetur, ne etiam aliquid de cera appensa addat ad spiramina, proinde et ut quinta vel sexta pars metalli sit stannum purificatum a plumbo, reliquum de cupro similiter mundato propter sonoritatem. Si autem in aliquo defeceris, cum cote vel lima potest rectificari."

He begins by saying that for making bells the whole difficulty consists in estimating the models from which they are formed, and first in understanding that the thicker a bell is the higher is its note, and the reverse. From the use of the word "cera" for a model, some might be inclined to infer that the bells of that time were cast in moulds formed by wax models; but no such instances are known to exist in England. When a bell is to be made, a core or central block is first formed, to which is fitted a model, or "thickness," of the bell that is to be. Outside the model comes the cope. These models seem to have been made at one time from wax. When complete, the outer earth, forming a cope, was rammed tightly round them. A fire was lighted, and the melted wax allowed to escape, the cavity being afterwards filled by the metal from the furnace. There was an easy way of ornamenting the outer earth, or cope, by laying on

the model extra strips of wax in the form of letters, etc., which would leave their impression on the cope. We have lighted on no instances of this kind in England, nor does there seem any probability of such a discovery. Mr. Lynam, in his *Church Bells of Staffordshire* (plates 3*a* and 3*b*), gives an interesting and well-executed drawing of what appears to be an inscription thus formed, from a bell at Fontenailles in Normandy, dated 1211, but he tells us nothing more about it. He also mentions similar lettering at Moissac, with the date 1273, recorded by Viollet le Duc. Our earliest inscriptions are set in separate letters, each in its own patera; and this would be impracticable, save by stamping the cope itself. In castings from wax models the cope is inaccessible. Hence we conclude that loam models were used in England while these instructions remained in the letter. Walter of Odyngton then proceeds to expound the estimation of the wax models of a ring of bells. Starting with any given "model" for the first bell, you take nine-eighths of it as a "model" for the second bell, and so on. If you start from the heavier bells and work on to the lighter ones, you must use a like method, *i.e.* let each "model" be eight-ninths of the previous one. But take care lest the core to which the "model" is to be fitted be changed in a different proportion. Take care also that none of your allotted "model" gets itself into the breathing holes. Then he gives directions about the metal—a fifth or sixth part of the metal to be tin, purified from lead, and the rest copper, similarly cleansed. Lastly, contemplating the abominable noise which would be sure to arise from these handiworks, he says that if you fail in any point it can be set right with a whetstone or a file, of which the former would be used for sharpening purposes, grinding away the rim of the bell, and the latter for flattening, filing

off the inner surface of the sound-bow. Let us, then, imagine Walter of Odyngton attending to his own instructions. He starts by allotting a certain amount of wax for his first bell, makes his core by rule of thumb answerable to it, and then weighs both. By weight he gets his wax for other bells, on the nine-eighth system. The whole method is so obviously empiric that there is no ground for wonder at the necessity for burine, whetstone, hard chisel, file, or any other tuning apparatus. Indeed, the free use of these instruments may help to account for that almost total disappearance of bells of the Saxon and Norman periods which we spoke of in the last chapter.

In a little prose tract appended to an undated poem called *Ars Musica*, attributed to Gerbertus Scholasticus, born about 950, and for four years (999–1003) Pope under the name of Sylvester II., we have an improved method. The tract is undoubtedly of a date long after the poem. It seems as though the writer had seen that the nine-eighths of Walter of Odyngton took no account of the difference between tones and semitones, and accordingly supplied a better plan. "Should any one wish to regulate the sound of bells, like that of organ pipes, he should know that thicker bells, like shorter pipes, have a higher note. But one must be careful in the weighing of the wax from which they are formed." He then designates the various bells in a peal by letters: "the first, A; the second, B; the third, C; the fourth, D; the fifth, E; the sixth, F, and the eighth, G." I cannot understand the omission of the seventh. B and C are respectively formed from A and B on the Odyngton nine-eighths system; but to get D, a "semitonium" from C, you take four-thirds of A. Then E and F are formed from D and E, according to Odyngton, but G from D (there being

a "semitonium" between G and F) by taking four-thirds. The MS. is Rawlinson, C, 720, in the Bodleian Library, and, the passage, as follows, occurs on f. 13, recto and verso :—

"Sonitum tintinnabulorum si quis rationabiliter juxta modum fistularum organicarum facere voluerit, scire debet quia sicut fistulæ breviores altiorem sonum babent quam longiores, ita et unumquodque tintinnabulum quantum superat in densitate alterum tantum excellit in sono. Quod caute providendum est in appensione ceræ qua formantur. Ad primum autem quod est A littera quali volucris pondere ceram appende, dividasque illam ipsam ceram æque in octo partes, ac recipiat sequens, B, videlicet, ejusdem appensionis iterum octo partes alias, addita insuper nona parte. Illasque novem partes in unam collige dividesque in octo, recipiat tercium quod est C, eadem appensione octo alias partes, addita etiam parte nona ejusdem ponderis. Tunc primi appensionem divide in tres partes, supereturque a quarto quod est D quarta parte, hoc est semitonium. Item divides quartum in octo, supereturque a quinto quod est E, nona parte, dividesque similiter quintum in octo et recipiat sextum quod est F, nonam partem amplius. Quartum nichilominus in tres partes æque appensum ab octavo quod est G, superatur quarta parte, hoc est semitonium."

According to my calculation, the models of the seven bells would be in this ratio: A, 8; B, 9; C, 10·125; D, 10·6; E, 12; F, 13·5; G, 14·2 Neither of these ratios, Odyngton's or Gerbertus's, seem in accordance with modern ideas.

Business brings business. Foundry work extends over smaller things than bells, possibly quite as profitable. Pots, pans, and mortars are in demand. Before long *ollarius* is found to be the usual designation of a founder. Already a London founder has been mentioned, the Saxon Alwold, and one provincial town, Boston, has its craftsman, Fergus.

The great antiquity of the old sance bell at Caversfield, Bucks, unfortunately recast in 1874, has been fully established

by the investigation of Mr. Cocks, to whom the late Rev. T. Archer Turner lent a rubbing and a cast of the inscription, which was on the sound-bow, apparently scratched by hand on the cope, not stamped, and reversed. As restored by the author of *The Church Bells of Buckinghamshire*,* and recorded in his book, the reading runs—

HUG[H] GARGAT[E] SIBILLAQ[UE] UXOR EJUS
H[ÆC] TIMPPANA FECERUNT EXPONI.

This Hugh Gargate was the son of Roger Gargate, to whom Henry II. granted the manor of the lord of Caversfield, and who gave the church to the abbey of Missenden. Browne Willis (who writes Robert as the name for Hugh's father) states that Hugh confirmed his father's grant, his wife, Sibilla de Caversfield, of Whiteminster, promising not to interfere. In a deed dated *c.* 1219, she describes herself as "ego Sybilla de Kaversfield quondam uxor Hugonis Gargat in pura viduitate." This fixes the date of the bell as in the first twenty years of the thirteenth century.

Before the end of the fourteenth century, Lichfield, Cambridge, Paignton in Tor Bay, Lynn, have their workshops. Michael de Lichfield is quoted † as doing business in that city at this time. In the Cambridgeshire *Pedes Finium*, edited by Mr. Walter Rye, we find in the last year of Henry III., "Brother Roger de Ebōr, Prior of the Order 'de Penitencia Jesu Christi' of Cantebrīg *v.* Walter le Brassur and Aldretha his wife in suburbs of Cantebrig." ‡ These suburbs are Barnwell, I think.

Next comes Paignton, near the mouth of a little creek in

* Page 337.
† Hewitt, *Handbook of Lichfield Cathedral.*
‡ Rye, 8vo, *Publications of Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, No. xxvi. p. 46.

Tor Bay, where, at the end of the thirteenth century and in the fourteenth, lived three generations of a family named de Ropeford, who exercised the combined callings of founder, organ-builder, and clock-maker. Here in 1285 Bishop Peter Quivil, of Exeter, granted to Roger de Ropeford, Campanistarius, and his heirs, for one penny each Easter, a certain tenement, they to perform the work of the aforesaid crafts, receiving all things necessary for the work, with victuals and drink whenever so employed. Roger was succeeded by his son William, and William by his son Robert, and from one of the three may have come a few of the group of earlier Longobardic bells. Paignton was the greatest lordship that belonged to the see of Exeter, and here was a goodly house of the Bishop's. Under these favourable circumstances, with ready access to the sea, the work of the de Ropefords may well have extended into neighbouring counties.

There was a Master John, founder of bells, at King's Lynn, in 1299, who seems identical with "Joh. de Len," named in the Cambridgeshire *Pedes Finium* for the previous year: "xxvj° Ed. I. vj Rob le Bakere de Cantebrigg et Iohanna ux: eius v. Ioh. de Len et Aliciam ux: eius in Cantebrigg." * We obtain him in certainty from the Tallage Roll of Lynn Bishop: "Mag'r Ioh'nes fundator Campanār solvit die ven'is p'x ante festum S'te Margar' in subsidiū Co'itatis dj m'rc sterl." Combining this documentary evidence with evidence from identity of lettering and initial crosses, we gather that this John of 1299 was a native of the village of Riston, near Downham Market, as he is apparently the man called "Magister Johannes de Riston" †

* Rye, *Pedes Finium Cant.*, p. 64.

† A Iohannes de Riston was one of the Yarmouth bailiffs in 1362 and 1368.

on the bell at Bexwell, close to that village; while the tenor at Worlington, Suffolk, bears the words + JOHANNES GODYNGE DE LENNE ME FECIT, and that at Wendling, Norfolk, inverts the second and third letters in the Christian name, and takes the more colloquial form GVDDINE for the surname. The second bell at Wendling may also be classed with these; and North considers the sanctus bell at Bicker, Lincolnshire, inscribed in similar characters, JOH : ME : YEYT (cast) : U to have come from the same hand.

There is a village in the valley of the Lune, above Lancaster, called Claughton. Here it is that we have the gratification of finding the first dated bell, through the exertions of Mr. Harper Gaythorpe. The inscription is in ordinary Roman type, with the exception of the A, which seems to be a scribe's ornamental form, and the C, which is Longobardic, the usual type of the time. The inscription runs round the shoulder on the top of it, and reads, + ANNO . DNI . M . CC . NONOG̊ . VI, the last letter but one being upside down. It is a little over sixteen inches high, and twenty-one in diameter at the lip, thus not a long bell. The note is E flat.

At Bridgewater, before the close of the thirteenth century, a bell was cast for the church, though the "master" may not have been resident in the town. The "Account of Richard Maydons, Philip Crese Erl, Gilbert le Large, and Richard de Dunsterre," given in *Notes and Queries*,* shows the various ways by which means were found to carry out the work. They collected in the parish, with donations from strangers, viij^{li} xviij*s.* x*d.* ob. Leaden vessels, trivets, pots, brass, and a bason with laver, augmented by a shilling for a ring sold, brought the amount to x^{li} xvj*s.* j*d.* "Foreign receipts" include loans from Maydons and Philip Crese

* 5th ser. iii. 77.

Erl (whose name is not easy to interpret), and xx*s.* from the Warden of the goods of the Holy Cross. Armed with the sum of xiv^{li} iij*s.* ij*d.*, the authorities bought 896 lb. of copper, 40 lb. of brass, and 320 lb. of tin, and incurred expenses for divers necessaries for repairs of the mould and founding of the bell, for which the "master" received in part payment of his wages xl*s.* People who did not find it convenient to subscribe in money did not hesitate to give up some of their household gear to add to the heap from which their new bell should be made. The parchment is endorsed with a memorandum of the amount of these gifts in kind:—

"Metal for the bell. They answer for 180 pounds received as gifts, as in pots, platters, basons, lavers, kettles, brass mortars, and mill pots. Also for 425 pounds received from one old bell. Also 40 pounds of brass, received by purchase. Also for 320 pounds of tin received by purchase. Sum, 1861 pounds, of which there has been melted in making the new bell 1781 pounds, and there are 81 pounds remaining."

These amounts are technically interesting, as affording help for estimating the ratio of metals. The lead is not to be disregarded.

Having spoken of the oldest inscription known to exist, I may mention an older one on record, as having existed at the first Cistercian abbey founded in England, at Waverley, near Farnham, a name which carries many an association with it. The annals of that abbey,* published in the Rolls Series, afford an important evidence as far back as 1239—

"Hoc anno comparata est major campana domus nostræ, tempore dñi Giffardi † abbatis, cæpitque pulsari primum ad horas,

* ii. 321.

† The abbey was founded by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, in 1128.

in die Sancto Paschæ, cujus nomen his versibus sciri potest, qui in eadem campana scribuntur.

> "Dicor nomine quo tu, Virgo, domestica Christi,
> Sum domini præco cujus tutela fuisti."

This is an inscription of such unusual length for the time as rather to stagger the investigator; but the Cistercians were eminently men of progress in all practical work. It is a pity that "comparata est" is in the passive voice. An active verb would have brought in the maker's name or the makers' names. The Cistercians of Waverley may have done their own work. Before long we shall have an undoubted instance of monastic founding. This, however, does not seem to have been the case at Bury St. Edmund's, as we follow up the detail in Dr. Montague R. James's valuable contribution to the history of the abbey, already put under tribute by me. Godefrid's bell, mentioned in the last chapter, was made, probably, by a craftsman, called in the MS. at the College of Arms,* Hailficus. The inscription there recorded is double the length of that from Waverley, and one cannot help wondering how at that time it was stamped into the core—

> "In magna campana.
> Ecclesie splendor Gaufridus nomine dicor.
> Me dedit ille bono tibi, Rex Edmunde, patrono.
> Sum labor Hailfici: modulo mihi ter [or tunc] reparato
> Erea nunc exto decus ecclesie venerandum."

In line 3 the last word but one is *t'*. Dr. James prefers *tunc* to *ter*, and I quite agree with him. Now, then, comes the certainty of a craftsman.

At the death of the great Abbot Sampson, Richard de Newport's abbacy of some sixteen years began (1213-*c.*

* *Arundel*, xxx.

1229). He procured a bell for the great tower, which bell was called after himself, "Neweport." Nicholas of Warwick (*c.* 1240) had a fine bell, called the "Sacrist's bell," cast for the central tower, in which was soon afterwards placed another, called "Luton," after Simon de Luton (Abbot, 1256–1279), at that time sacrist. Reginald de Denham, prior in the fourteenth century, put four bells in the *clocarium*, and a great bell which broke. This was "mended," by which expression must be understood "re-cast," by John Lavenham, sacrist, who also gave two smaller ones, and a third for the clock. Prior Peter de Clopton gave a bell for the central tower, called "Clopton." Hugo, who made a bell for Abbot Anselm (1121–1148), doubtless merits the description given of him, "the greatest of Bury artists." He is called "Magister Hugo" in the *Gesta Sacristarum*. He seems to have been an artificer of wide experience. He illustrated a *bibliotheca*, "incomparabiliter." Dr. James is justified by the *Catholicon Anglicum* * in interpreting this word as a large Bible in this place. It is among the Latin words for *library;* and in the *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 88, *library* is used for a book, "the lyberary of oure Lordys lawe." The great brasen doors at the west of the church, and the wonderfully fine crucifix in the choir, were also from his hand. Father Mackinlay, in his *Life of St. Edmund*, describes graphically the ringing on the Martyr Saint's Vigil—

"The two Londons, the greater and the holy-water bell, clanged out the first peal. The bells of the cemetery, including the Gabriel or thunderstorm bell, and the chimes of S. Mary's, S. James's and S. Margaret's rang out the second and third peal. Lastly, the younger monks, sounding the chimes in the great lantern-tower, gave

* *Early English Text Publications*, p. 216.

tuis quā uoluntatē in amicicia que
rere. Certe confidenter dicā. et multos hu
ius opis testes citabo me nihil dū taxat
scientē de hebrea ueritate mutasse.
Sic ubi ḡ editio mea a ueteribus discrepa
rit. interroga quēlibet hebreorum. et liq
do p uidebis me. ab emulis frustra lace
rari. q̄a maluit contēpnere uidere p̄
clara. quā discere. puerissimi homi
nes. Hā cū semp nouas expectant uo
luptates. et gule corū uicina maria
n̄ sufficiant. cur in solo studio scriptu
rarū. ueteri sapore contenti sunt. Hoc
hoc dico q̄ p̄cessores meos mordeā. aut
quicq̄m de his arbitror detrahendū.
Quorū translationē. diligentissime em̄
datā. olim mee linguę hominibus de
derim. sed q̄d aliud sit in ecclia xp̄i cre
dentiū psalmos legere. aliud uideis.
singula uerba calūpniantibus responde
re. Q̄d opusculū meū. si in grecū ut pol
liceris transtuleris. ANTIPHONICON. TOBA
TA. SYPOYSIN. et impencię mee doc
tissimos q̄sq. uiros. testes facere uolueris.
dicā tibi. illud oratiōnū. In siluā ne
ligna feras. nisi quod hoc habebo solam̄.
si in labore cōmuni intelligā. et mihi et
laudē. et uituperationē tecū esse cōmunē.
Y ale in domino ihū. cupio te memi
nisse mei.

EXPLICIT P̄FACIO SC̄I

IERONIMI PB̄RI

HAMMER RINGING ON AN OCTAVE OF BELLS

FROM END OF PREFACE OF A THIRTEENTH CENTURY *BIBLIA VULGATA*

Harl. MS. 2[illegible] f. 3b

the signal to all the bells of the monastery to take up the music. The united peals from far and wide, with the well-known *Haut-et-cler* bell, ringing high and clear above the others, produced the fourth peal, or *Le Glas*, as the citizens called it."

The two Londons give the impression of having been the work of some metropolitan founder.

At Exeter the Fabric Rolls give glimpses of the increase of tenants of the Bell Tower. Walter Bronescomb was bishop of the diocese from 1257 to 1280, and gave a bell called Walter, after himself. Two shillings were spent about the gear in 1286. Four were hanging in the North Tower, two of which bore the names of Bockerel and Chauncel, and there was another called Germacyn, about which the large sum of twopence was spent. Ellacombe suggests that it was named from Ralph Germacyn, precentor from 1308 to 1316. The twopenny payment was eighteen years previous to Germacyn's precentorship, but it may have been the result of earlier interest on his part.

We have already witnessed the consecration of bells at St. Alban's. During the rule of Abbot William de Trumpington (1214–1235), "a most sonorous bell," specially assigned to the office of the Mass, was consecrated by Bishop John, and called by the name of S. Mary. The previous consecration was by the Bishop of St. Asaph. The only English prelate bearing the name of John during this period was the Bishop of Ely, S. John de Fontibus. Abbot Trumpington appointed this bell "to be rung thrice daily, in due time to call together the ministers thereto assigned; namely, six monks (including him who officiates at the altar) and other faithful in Christ, and meek and devoted servants of the Blessed Mary, to minister thereat, and to pray for the prosperity of the Church and their own." Two *nolæ* also were

used by his order to be rung during the solemn singing of a sequence composed by him in commemoration of the patron saint of the abbey. After the death of this abbot we read of a joyful sound of bells (as in the case of Sampson de Tottington, at Bury St. Edmund's) to greet his successor, John de Hertford. After his nomination and acceptance by the electors, he was presented at the high altar, the bells clashing ("pulsato classico"), the organ-pipes sounding, the candles burning round the altar, and the shrine uncovered. His brief prayer over, the *scilla* was touched as a signal to the belfry, and the clangour ceased. At the end of the previous century the abbey had obtained from Pope Clement III. a privilege in case of an interdict. Worship in the abbey was not to be suspended, but the doors were to be closed, the excommunicate and interdicted excluded, the large bells silenced, and the Divine offices performed with lowered voices. Such a time came during the abbacy of John de Hertford (1235–1260). Financial troubles were rife in England. Peter Egueblanke, Bishop of Hereford, presumably the bishop robbed by Robin Hood, as told in the well-known ballad, was resisted by the town in his attempt to collect money for the king, and St. Alban's is placed under an interdict, but the canonical hours and matins were observed in a low voice, introduced by the small voice of a *squilla*, no doubt, though this is not mentioned. This occurrence must have taken place near the end of the rule of John de Hertford. About the same time one of the bells of the abbey was tolled at the solemn excommunication of Geoffrey de Childewicke, for having maltreated a servant of the abbot. A very remarkable use of the great bell, the interdict being now past and gone, is given soon afterwards. The townsmen were expected to bring their coarse cloths

to be fulled at the abbey mill. Quarrels arose, perhaps on the scale of payment, perhaps about the monopoly. The fullers, in sulks, determined to go elsewhere. The Abbot resented this, and implored the Divine help as well as that of St. Alban, and the chapter went in procession with bare feet, "a certain great bell tolling" on the occasion. Soon afterwards the whole peal rung out joyously at the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been staying at Hatfield.*

In the middle of this period there was a corporate body called the Brethren of the Guild of Westminster. These brothers were evidently men well regarded in their day. They dated back some two centuries, for a Patent Roll of Henry III., in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, grants "that the brethren and their successors may for ever enjoy all the privileges and free customs which they have enjoyed from the time of Edward the Confessor to the date of these presents." The portion which relates to ringing is thus freely translated by Ellacombe: "Know all men that we have granted to the Brethren of the Guild of Westminster, who are appointed to ring the great bells, that they and their successors shall receive annually out of our Exchequer 100 shillings, fifty at Easter, and fifty at Michaelmas, until we provide the like sum for them payable out of lands for the said ringing." Six years before this grant there had been casting going on for Westminster Abbey, by one Edward Odson,† and in the following year Odson was ordered by the king to make another and a larger bell. Nor did this exhaust the royal bounty, for the next year witnessed a further addition of a smaller bell to be in tune with the

* North and Stahlschmidt, *Church Bells of Hertfordshire*, pp. 100, *et seq.*

† Toulmin Smith, *Guilds, etc.*, p. 205.

great bell. This suggests octaval unison, and the peal appears to be another example of the seven system, which we have seen expounded by William of Odyngton and Gerbertus Scholasticus. The tradition about the bells was that they were of great weight and loud tones. There must have been something pleasing about the Westminster ringers' performances to induce so favourable a notice. "Rounds" by themselves were delightful to the ear when rung on well-tuned bells. Most likely the "odds and evens," or King's changes, were coming in, with other simple "call changes." One wonders whether the King's changes took their name from Henry III.

CHAPTER VI

TIMES OF DEVELOPMENT

THE monastic foundry and the trade foundry continued to exist side by side half-way through the Plantagenet period, but as the latter flourished the former dwindled and became extinct. One of the most elaborate works that can be seen is a mortar of bell-metal, now in the York Museum, belonging once to the great Benedictine Abbey, the work of a friar, presumably a Franciscan. It weighs 76 lb., and is inscribed on the upper rim + MORTARIV . SCI . IOHIS . EWANGEL' DE . IFIRMARIA . BE . MARIE EBO, and on the lower rim + FR. WILLS . DE . COVCHORP . ME . FECIT . A . D . M . CCC . VIII. Nothing is known of its history for nearly two centuries after the Dissolution. In 1734, when Thomas Gent was engaged in his History of Hull, he received an anonymous letter about it, saying that it had once been in the possession of the Fairfax family. Gough, in his *Camden*,* traces it to Selby. In 1811 it was found by Rudder, a Birmingham founder, among some old metal, sold to Mr. Blunt, a surgeon there, purchased at his sale by Mr. Kenrick of West Bromwich, and restored by him to York.

Here I leave York for a moment, to name Thomas Hickham, Sacrist of St. Augustine's, who cast a bell for

* III. 66.

Canterbury Cathedral in 1358. He is the last ecclesiastical founder to be named.*

Nearly contemporary with Brother William of Touthorp was the great Richard Tunnoc, whose Bell Window in York Minster is a unique memorial of foundry operations. He is a grand instance of success. He was one of the city bailiffs in 1320–1, and represented the city in Parliament in 1327. In 1330 he died. The second of the noble series of windows in the north aisle, reckoning from the east, is the monument to his memory. There are three lights, each 20 feet high by 35½ inches wide, and divided into five compartments.

"The glazing at the bottom is composed of white diamond-shaped quarries; a vine-leaf foliage runs in a straggling manner over the whole; and in the centre of this work a bell is represented in a small pointed quatrefoil-shaped medallion. Then above this work we have, in the lower band, a pictorial subject under a decorated canopy, surmounted by tabernacle work, running up into a double row of arcading, in each of which there is a representation of a bell suspended from its wooden stock. Above these, the next compartments are similar to those in the basement. Then in the upper band there are three historical subjects, under canopies, like the lower ones; all above this is composed of quarry work, like the other blank compartments, running into the head, where another bell occupies the centre foliation. The two side lights have a border of bells running all round; each bell appears hung in a trefoiled niche, finished with a battlement, the ground being ruby; the bells which are beautifully painted, and ornamented with two foliated bands, are suspended from a stock. The border of the middle light is treated in the same way, but, instead of bells, there are on either side figures of monkeys, all seated, each playing some sort of musical instrument: they are shown in profile, each looking at the opposite one, and each opposite one holding the same sort of musical

* Hasted, *Kent*, xii. 207.

BLESSING THE DONOR OF THE BELL

PART OF THE BELL FOUNDERS' WINDOW IN YORK CATHEDRAL

instrument,—illustrative, perhaps, of the prejudiced notion of a bell-founder, that the music of bells is superior. There are three quatrefoils in the head tracery, in each of which is a full-length vested figure of St. Andrew with his cross, St. Paul with his sword, and St. Peter with his keys, each having a bell on either side of him. On the left hand is represented the mode of forming the mould of a bell, called the *core*. One figure is turning it with a handle like a grindstone; and another, with a long crooked tool (which he holds firmly with both hands, one end being placed under his right arm-pit), is moulding the clay to the proper form, giving his whole mind to it. The back ground of this picture is in blue glass, wholly covered with a rich diapering of circles, within which a spread eagle is represented, and a small quatrefoil in the interstices, over which is inscribed, on a black band, RICHARD CVRROC, and under the point of the canopy a bell is suspended from its stock. On the floor of this compartment are shown two bells, between the legs of the tressels on which the mould is being turned. In the compartment on the right hand there are three figures busily engaged in running the molten metal. The furnace is of an ecclesiastical type, in which the metal is kept heated by two pair of large domestic bellows, worked by a boy, who holds a handle in each hand; another boy is helping him by standing with one foot on each upper board of the bellows, on which he manages to support himself and regulate his movements by holding on with one hand to a bar fixed just above his head. The other figure, we may suppose, represents the chief workman, who having tapped the furnace is carefully watching the molten metal running into the mould below. Here, too, the background in blue glass is diapered the same as in the other, with a bell suspended above. In the centre compartment we have a suppliant figure, with uplifted hands, kneeling before an archbishop, who is nimbed; seated on a rich cushioned throne, fully vested with mitre, pallium, embroidered sandals, etc., and holding a crosier in his left hand; his right hand is uplifted in the act of blessing the person kneeling. There issues from between the uplifted hands of the suppliant a scroll, inscribed RICHARD CVRROC. From the girdle of this figure hangs a *gypciere*, or pouch, ornamented with two figures

of a bell. The head-dress of this figure is like that of the workmen, with thick bushy hair; the two boys at the bellows have ornamented caps.

"The background of this compartment is diapered like the others, but in the centre is shown a three-light window, the very type of those in the north aisle. An inscription runs across at the bottom of each compartment. In the first may be read RICHARD CVRROC ME FIST. The inscriptions under the other subjects are mutilated; all that can be made out under the middle is—

. . . RO . . . AMIE . . .

And under the other—

RVRERVERO . . . FERDEV." *

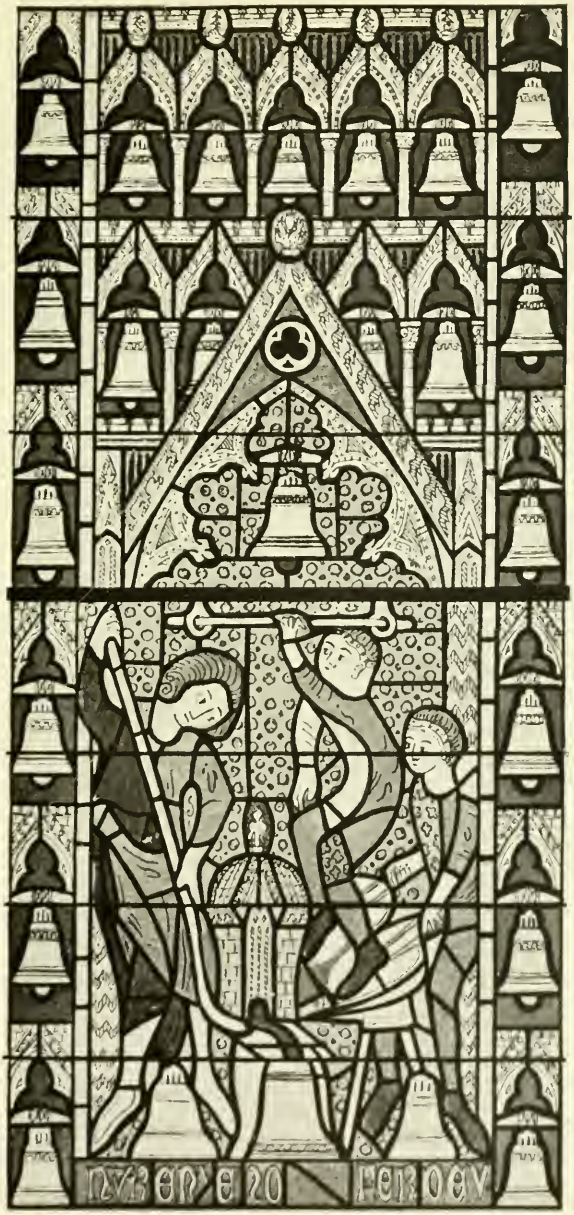
There was a Cistercian house at Crokesden, now Croxden, near Uttoxeter. I translate from its annals a passage to show that even this self-helping community had to seek the craftsman's assistance in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

"Anno 1313. The great bell of the house was through ill-luck broken on Easter Eve, and Master Henry Michel of Lichfield came to cast another, and worked at it with his attendants from the Octave of Trinity up to the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (Sept. 8), and then failed in the casting and lost all his labour and expense. But again, when a great quantity of copper and tin had been collected afresh, recommencing the whole business he at length finished it, as is now reported, about the Feast of All Saints."

It is possible that this unfortunate man may have been the son of Michael of Lichfield, already mentioned, turning the father's Christian name into a surname, as was often the manner in those days.

In the next generation the Ely Benedictines had to

* Ellacombe, *Bells of the Church*, pp. 488, etc.



RUNNING THE MOLTEN METAL

PART OF THE BELL FOUNDER'S WINDOW IN YORK CATHEDRAL

summon a Gloucester founder to do their work. In 1322, the square tower which formed the centre of the cathedral fell down. It appears that there were two bells in the western tower, for the roll of the sacrist, Alan de Walsingham, for that year contains a charge for the clapper of the great bell called "Bounce," and of another called "Peter." A little more than twenty years after this we find great works in bell-casting going on in the cathedral, under the superintendence of Alan de Walsingham, now prior, and Robarte Aylesh'm, sacrist. It is instructive to note the exact time of these works. A great struggle at Ely had ended disastrously for the band of those noble East Anglian monks, to whose genius and energy we owe so mighty an architectural debt. Alan de Walsingham, the great representative man of this body, had been unanimously chosen bishop by the convent, but Pope Clement VI. refused to confirm the appointment, and nominated the unpopular and tyrannical Thomas de l'Isle in Walsingham's place. The vast influence in wealth and position which the bishopric would have conferred was gone, but the prior and convent pressed on with their work, and the roll of Robarte Aylesh'm, Sacrist, Annis XIX. and XX., Edwardi III., bears witness to their perseverance. The account for the bells is the last in the roll, and is not easy to read from the faded ink and discoloured parchment. I have enclosed the parts which are more or less doubtful in brackets. It runs as follows :—

"In argill. emp. ap'd Lenn ij*s* ij*d*. In exp'ns mag'ri Johan. de Glouscestr' eunt̄ v'sus Lenn [v. *s*.]. In aquag̃ eiusdem p aq^{a}m v'*s* Ely x*d*. In argill. emp. ap'd Erythe cum aquag. v'*s* Ely p. v. p'dict . . . [jx*s* x*d*]. [In rodis] emp. p. fornac. faci'd p. vic. xv*d*. Lib. Cok v'sus Lenn p. ij vic. p. copro et stagno [c' llig^{d}] vij*s* vi*d*. In exp's p'dicti mag'ri Johīs p. ips. querend. ap'd North^{n}mton

et alibi p. d'vrs vic' iij*s*. In pakkeyerde . . . vic. xj*d*. In DCCCXLIV libr. stagn̄ emp. p. dict' campan' vj*li* xix*s* p. cent xv*s* min̄ m^to^ iiij*s* ob st'm. In CCXX libr' stag. emp. p. eisd'm xxxj*s* viij*d* p. centen. xiiij*s*. In [MV^C^] copr. emp. p. dict. campan̄ xj*li* v*s* p' cent. xv*s*. In DCXXI lib. copr̄ emp. p. eisdem iiij*li* vj*s* viij*d* p. cent xiiij*s*. In CCCCXIJ lib. copr̄ emp. p. eisd'm ij*li* xvij*s* vj*d* p. c. xiiij*s*. In V^C^LXV libr' copr̄ alb' emp. p. eisd'm iiij*li* viij*s* p. cent. xvj*s* vnde anajuḡ ex pondere jx libr. . . . In [c'rv̄*] emp. die [qua] fund't'r metall̄ magne campane p't'r staur. iiij*s* vij*d*. In fform̄ p. iiij campn̄s̄ faci^d^ et fusione iiij camp'm de [ore] p'dict̄ pondere hoc. videlt. camp'm voc't'm Ihc. MMMDCC iiij xij libr. camp'm voc't'm Joh. MMDCC××iiij libr. camp'm voc't'm Mariam MMC iiij libr. xviij*li* xviij*s* p. qua'lib't lib. ob. min m^to^ iij*s*. . . . [In] . . . p. fusion̄ iiij^te^ camp. voc'te Walsyngh'm ponderant̄ videlt. VJMCCIIIJ. libr. . . . In pol. p. [pendic' dict' camp'] et trendel̄ p. eisd' de pondere et al. rebs g'nibs . . . ponder^a^nt CCCLXV libr. xv*s* ij*d*. In . . . faciend. p. fornac. et mols fac^d^ in p^te^ ij*s* iiij*d*. In carbon. emp. p. fusione ear'd'm vij*s* viij*d*. In . . . et' aq' vs Ely iij*s*. In . . . emp. p. eisd'm iiij*s*. In faci'nd' ferrament. p. vi campan̄ . . . campanil . . . de ferro dd. de st^o^ Epī emp. xxxiij*s* iij*d*. In vj claperys de novo fact' ex f'ro dd. de st^o^ . . . ep'i cū . . . d'm cū vij h'n'bs p. iiij Sept. iiij*li* xv*s* iiij*d* . . . scil^t^ p. qua' libt lib. lib. ex igne v*s*. [In exp's Rog'ri carpent'] p'dict' vj campan' pendent' lx*s* ip'e cl'me' cū Garc'et equo. . . . In vj cord' emp. p. [camp̄ p'dict] xvj*s* viij*d*. Dat Garcoi'bs p'dct'r Mag'r' Ioh'is et Rog'i in recessu eor' jx*s* vj*d*. In c.lib. [ferri]. . . . In stapel. et haspis de eod'm faci^d^ iij*s* vj*d*. In ij cor' equin' emp. p. bauderrikes und' fact'. . . . In facci' eor'd'm x*d*. In fil. emp. iiij*d*. In [soles] emp. p. dict. bauderykk iiij*d*. In di. cent. redis emp. ap. Thorneye p. focali ij*s*. In aquag' eord'm v*s* Ely ij*s*. And the roll ends with the words S'm o'm exp'ns et lib. nov. oper̄.

To some of my readers a translation of this account will be acceptable. That which follows must be taken at its worth.

* *Cerveyse de Ely* appears in a list of things for which places were famous temp. Ed. II. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan. 1862, p. 60.

	£	s.	d.
For clay bought at Lynn	0	2	2
For the expenses of Master John of Gloucester going to Lynn	0	5	0
For the water-carriage of the same by water to Ely . .	0	0	10
For clay bought at Erith, with the water-carriage to Ely at the same time	0	9	10
For rods bought once for making the furnace	0	0	15
The account of Cok to Lynn twice, for collecting copper and tin	0	7	6
For the expenses of the aforesaid Master John for seeking the same at Northampton and elsewhere on several occasions	0	3	0
For packthread [bought on several] occasions	0	0	11
For 8 cwt. 44 lbs. of tin bought for the same bells, at 15*s*. per cwt. (with a deduction of 4*s*. on account of what was had from the store)	6	19	0
For 2 cwt. 20 lbs. of tin bought for the same, at 14*s*. per cwt.	0	31	8
For 15 cwt. of copper bought for the said bells, at 15*s*. per cwt.	11	5	0
For 6 cwt. 21 lbs. of copper bought for the same at 14*s*. per cwt.	4	6	7
For 4 cwt. 12 lbs. of copper bought for the same at 14*s*. per cwt.	2	17	6
For 5 cwt. 65 lbs. of white copper bought for the same at 16*s*. per cwt., whence there is a tret of 9 lbs. from the weight	4	8	0
For beer bought on the day on which the metal of the great bell is melted, beside what was had from the store	0	4	6
For moulds for making four bells, and the casting of four bells from the aforesaid ore, of the following weight, that is to say— The bell called JESUS, 37 cwt. 92 lbs. The bell called John, 27 cwt. 4 lbs. The bell called Mary, 21 cwt 4 lbs. . .	18	18	0

	£	s.	d.
For [a mould] for the casting of the 4th bell, called Walsyngham, weighing [18 cwt. 4 lbs.]		—	—
For poles for the hanging of the said bells, and wheels * for the same according to weight, and divers other things . . . weighing 3 cwt. 65 lbs.	0	15	2
For making . . . for the furnace, and making moulds in part	0	2	3
For charcoal bought for the casting of the same . . .	0	7	8
For . . . and water-carriage to Ely	0	3	0
For . . . bought for the same	0	4	0
For making ironwork for the six bells [hanging in the great] belfry, of iron, half bought from the bishop's store	0	33	3
For six clappers new made from iron, half from the [said] bishop's store, with	—	—	—
For the expenses of seven men for four weeks	4	16	3
For the expenses of Roger the carpenter hanging the aforesaid six bells	0	60	0
[Clement himself] with his boy and horse	—	—	—
For six cords bought for the aforesaid bells	0	16	8
Given to the boys of the aforesaid Masters John and Roger, at their departure	0	9	6
For 1 cwt. of iron	—	—	—
For making staples and hasps from it	0	3	6
For two horse-hides bought for making baldricks therefrom	—	—	—
For making the same	0	0	10
For thread bought	0	0	4
For soles bought for the said baldricks	0	0	3
For half a hundred reeds bought at Thorney for fuel . .	0	2	0
For water-carriage of the same to Ely	0	2	0

It might have been hoped that through this record of

* Cf. *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy*, II. 453—

"Hir (Medea's) Ene as a trendull turned full rounde
ffirst on hir fader, for feare that she hadde,
And sethyn on that semely with a sad wille."

operations we should have been able to arrive at the proportion of metals adopted by Master John of Gloucester in bell-casting. Unfortunately, there are no data through which this may be obtained, for it is evident that there must have been a considerable store (*staurum*) of metal, which does not enter into the sacrist's account. The amount of copper, 25 cwt. 33 lbs.; of tin, 10 cwt. 64 lbs.; of white copper, 5 cwt. 65 lbs., gives a total of 2 tons, 1 cwt. 50 lbs., which falls short of half the registered weight of the four bells, "Mary," "John," "Jesu," and "Walsyngham," viz. 5 tons 3 cwt. 64 lbs. Perhaps the metal of "Bounce" and "Peter" may have formed part of the *staurum*. The copper cwt. contained 112 lbs., that for tin only 80 lbs., that for "white copper" (? pewter) 121 lbs., 9 being added for "anajugium." Comparing this account with Exeter, 1372, copper is found to have nearly doubled its price, tin remaining stationary.

The weights of the four Ely bells are evidence of the great development in method which had come about since Walter of Odyngton's instructions had been promulgated. Here we have four bells, and no doubt in tune. "Walsyngham," the smallest, weighs 18 cwt. 4 lbs. According to the nine-eighths scheme, the bell called "Mary" should have weighed about 1 ton 32 lbs., whereas it weighed 21 cwt. 4 lbs. Calculating another nine-eighths from this, "John" should have weighed 23 cwt. 74 lbs., but its weight was 27 cwt. 4 lbs.; and the largest of the four is, in fact, quite 7 cwt. in excess of what it ought to have been if calculated from *John, secundum Walterum.*

Shape, too, was vastly improving. The pearlike form was gone. It is true that the idea was still too high and narrow, but it was soon to give place to something still better. The core, with its waxen top, received impressions of exquisite lettering.

Initial crosses, word stops, foundry marks, all partake of the artistic feeling which had invaded the workshop. Everywhere there are signs of pride and pleasure in labour. The lettering is always of the uncial type—what is usually called Longobardic. It is frequently cusped; the ends sometimes terminate in *fleurs-de-lis;* the interior is sometimes diapered. In London records these craftsmen, with one or two exceptions, designate themselves as potters (*ollarius* being the word used), and Stahlschmidt traces them chiefly to the main street from what is now St. Andrew's Undershaft to St. Botolph's-without-Aldgate, which, as he proves from various wills, were pre-eminently the bell-founders' churches. It is sad to think how little of this beautiful work we possess —a few bells here and there, but hardly ever a mortar, a saucepan, or a laver-pot seems to turn up, save in foundry stamps and the like. One of the earliest names found by Stahlschmidt is in the *Libor Antiquus* in the Guildhall. Herein are two lists of sheriffs, and the same person is described as Benedictus Campanarius, and Beneit le Seynter. What is meant by this word is a great puzzle. The next metropolitan group consists of a family of four from the village of Wimbish, in Essex—Michael, Richard, Ralph and Walter. They are all designated as potters, and we have bells in existence made by three of them, Michael, Richard and Walter. Stahlschmidt gives in full a deed of 1297, between Michael le Poter civis Lond̄ and Adam de Wirlee with his wife Margaret, daughter of the said Michael. Among the witnesses to this deed is Paulus le Poter. Two bells of Michael's remain at Bradenham, Bucks, and are described by Mr. Cocks* as long-waisted and resonant. The canons are broken off the smaller of the two; those

* *The Church Bells of Buckinghamshire*, p. 323.

of the larger are moulded with string pattern, the argent very large and high. Documentary evidence shows that the dates of Michael and Richard overlap. Five bells by the latter are known to remain, viz. at Great Bradley, Suffolk; Goring, Oxon; Slapton, Northamptonshire; Burham, Kent; and Rawreth, Essex. The Goring third has the Norman French "fist," and asks prayers for Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, without mention of his soul; whence we may infer that the date is earlier than the bishop's death, in 1291. An agreement between this founder and the prior of the convent of the Church of the Holy Trinity in London, in the year 1312, is given by Riley,* and transcribed here:—

"Richard de Wymbissh, potter and citizen of London, came here before the Chamberlain on the Friday next after the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist (25 April), in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, and acknowledged that he was bound to Sir Ralph, Prior of the Church of the Holy Trinity in London, and the Convent of that place, to make one bell, good, entire, and well-sounding, and as nearly in tune, to the utmost of his power, with the greater bell of the church aforesaid. And the said bell was to weigh 2820 pounds, of good and befitting metal, every hundredweight thereof containing 112 pounds; the same to be ready by the Feast known as St. Peter's Chains (1 August), next ensuing without any further delay. And should he not do so, then he agreed, &c., as proved by his recognizance.

"The same Prior also agreed to redeliver unto the said Richard the great bell which he had formerly made for the use of him and his Convent; and that without delay, so soon as the same Richard should commence founding the bell aforesaid, upon view thereof by the said Lord Prior, or of such of his people as he should appoint to be present thereat. Afterwards, Alan de Middletone, Canon and Sacrist of the said house, came and acknowledged that the said

* *Memorials of London Life*, p. 100.

Richard had fully satisfied them as to the work aforesaid; and therefore this recognizance was cancelled."

There are several notable points in this document. The founder does not bind himself to make the new bell exactly in tune with the old one. Why the stipulation about the hundredweight is made is doubtful, considering the specified number of pounds in the bell.

As a Richard de Wymbish, four years after this date, was prior of the convent, Stahlschmidt not unreasonably surmises that he was sub-prior when the bond was drawn, and used his influence for the employment of a relative or fellow-townsman. Nothing is known of Ralph, but the name as going bail for a hackneyman in 1308. He is called a potter. Walter has left behind him a bell at Kingston-by-Lewes, Sussex, with lettering and cross which passed to one John Aleyn. He may be the Aleyn le Sopere who figures so discreditably in a commission granted by the mayor and aldermen in 1316, to regulate the standard of metal used in pot-making. The honest potters complained that many persons, especially this man, "buy in divers places pots of bad metal, and then put them on the fire so as to resemble pots that have been used, and are of old brass; and then they expose them for sale in West-chepe on Sundays and other festival days, to the deception of all who buy such pots; for the moment that they are put upon the fire, and become exposed to great heat, they come to nothing and melt." * It would be interesting if we could get an analysis of the treble at Southease, Sussex, the only bell of John Aleyn's known to remain.

Stahlschmidt gives a long list of London citizens, chiefly

* Riley, *Memorials*, p. 118.

HAMMER RINGING OF THREE BELLS

FROM A FRENCH MS. A.D. 1372. AT THE HEAD OF A CHAPTER TREATING OF DIFFERENCES OF NUMBERS, MEASURES, WEIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Coll. MS. Aug. 10, f. 157b

potters, who may have been bell-founders, from 1150 to 1418. In the reign of Henry III. France gave England a certain John of Amiens. The rest seem to be Englishmen, among whom may be noted, William de Suffolch, 1276, and Alan de Suffolk, 1300–1331; several bearing the surname Rous; Peter de Weston, 1330–1348; the two Scheps, Gilbert, 1314–1318, and William, 1347–1349; Simon de Hatfield, 1353–1373; and Henry Derby, 1362–1390. Some are mere names, but Peter de Weston must have been a man of mark in his day, his name standing at the head of the list of councillors chosen for Portsoken Ward in 1347, the first year in which the wards elected the common council. He leaves to his wife Matilda the house of William Schep, the son of Gilbert of the same name. Now it came to pass that in the year 1857 I was bell-hunting in East Anglia, and lighted on the sole remnant of William's work at Garboldisham. It bears, at the beginning of each line, a floral ornament, used by Richard Wymbish in a somewhat irregular pentagon, with the inscription—

AD LAVDEM SANCTI : ANTONII
VVILLELMVS : SCHEP : ME FECIT.

There were two cracked bells in the same tower, and there was a big recast there in 1884, by Messrs. Moore, Holmes and Mackenzie, of the Redenhall foundry, Norfolk. The top of William Schep's bell was cut off with a circular saw, and kindly sold to me at the price of old metal. There can be no doubt that it was inscribed under Franciscan influence. The St. Antony is he of Padua, celebrated for his kindness to animals, whose pigs ran about London with bells round their necks, awaiting the food of the charitable. The diameter of this bell was 27¼ inches, the height to the shoulder 22½ inches, the upper circumference 45½.

Simon de Hatfeld appears as a witness to the will of William de Raughton, *ollarius*, in 1357. His surname exhibits the usual variations in spelling. I was fortunate enough to light upon him in 1862, at Sutterton, in Lincolnshire, where he made the "Parson's bell," formerly, doubtless, the Sanctus bell. The treble at Stanwick, Northamptonshire, is also his. Both are simply of the *me fecit* order. North records the name in both places as "Hazfelde," but I cannot help thinking that my version is correct. The initial cross at Stanwick is of the pattée type, with the Saviour's head in the centre. Henry Derby, like Simon de Hatfeld, appears first as a witness to a will, viz. that of William Cosyn, *ollarius*, made in 1368. Cosyn calls him "specialem amicum meum." William Burford, "civis et Belzeter," leaves Henry's wife Mary forty shillings. Any one, I think, who examines the evidence put together by Stahlschmidt will be convinced that the man mentioned in the two wills is identical with Henry Derby, ironmonger, of the Hustings rolls, 1362. Again my lot was to find him in the eighth tower I mounted, when I was a boy of fifteen, on the old third,* at Chippenham, Cambridgeshire. He omits his Christian name here, as also at New Houghton and Burnham Deepdale, Norfolk, and Ampton, Suffolk. It rather looks as if he had been making a business tour in East Anglia.

* Recast by Warner, in 1898.

CHAPTER VII

PROVINCIAL FOUNDERS—MEDIÆVAL USES

ANOTHER turn in the provinces will be refreshing after the metropolitans who monopolized the end of the last chapter. To begin with Kent. A shield-shaped foundry stamp, bearing in roundlets, in the upper part a lion rampant and a wyvern, and below a king with sword and sceptre, is found on eight bells not far from Canterbury, with rather elaborate lettering. The inscriptions are either the Salutation, or a simple ORA PRO NOBIS. The founder is ascertained, with little doubt, to have taken his name, William le Belyetere, from his craft. He appears in the *Pedes Finium* of the eighteenth year of Edward II.,* as purchasing a house in Canterbury from Peter, the son of Henry Poteman,† of Cobham, and Isabella, his wife. Three of the eight bells, two at Postling and one at Patrixbourne, also bear on a shield three crowns and an arrow, a well-known emblem of St. Edmund, and found on a few bells in East Anglia, as well as on buildings, *e.g.* in Fressingfield porch. Whether he died at Canterbury or migrated into Norfolk is uncertain; but the initial cross and lettering are found on thirty-eight bells in Norfolk, having doubtless passed on into the hands of other founders. Stahlschmidt

* No. 807.

† This name is suggestive.

is inclined to think that there was a second migration of the initial cross.

Kent by itself was thought by one, Stephen Norton, a sufficient indication of locality. The fourth at Holy Cross, Canterbury, and the second at Snave, bear—

+ STEPHANVS NORTONE DE KENT ME FECIT.

He used very fine crowned capitals, and a dotted diamond between two roundlets for a word stop. He is described in the *Pedes Finium* of the thirty-sixth year of Edward III. as "Brasiere," and he is selling land in Goudhurst. In the next year he is buying houses and land in Boughton Monchelsea, and the same name, probably indicating the same man, appears in a conveyance of some Wrotham property in 1375. But through the care of Kentish antiquaries he has been traced to St. Mary-in-the-Castle, Dover. I subjoin Stahlschmidt's note * :—

"Tradition states that in the seventeenth century there was here a ring of six bells, but whether they were in the church tower or in the old Roman Pharos, as Hasted states, is somewhat doubtful. Tradition is equally contradictory as to the fate of the said ring. One authority states that Prince George of Denmark, at the intercession of Admiral Rooke, caused them to be removed to Portsmouth and placed in the tower of St. Thomas's Church there. Another authority states that the order for removal to Portsmouth was never carried out, but that the bells went to St. Margaret at Cliffe. Neither of these traditions is, I think, correct; the date of the present ring at Portsmouth disproves the one, and the fact that St. Margaret at Cliffe possesses only one bell, and that of earlier date than the supposed transfer, militates equally against the other. The element of truth lying at the bottom of all this is, I think, that the bells were broken up and the metal sent to Portsmouth *Dockyard*

* *Church Bells of Kent*, p. 257.

for casting purposes. We have, however, in the Surrenden MSS., a piece of information as to one of these bells which is perfectly trustworthy, as being within the personal knowledge of the narrator, Sir Edward Deering. It is given as follows in *Arch. Cant.*, vol. 1. It appears that there was at that time (1630) in this church a brass (of which a sketch is given) to Sir Robert Astone, and the following note is added by Sir Edward :—

"'The circumscription of the great bell heere, and weighing 3000 lb. weight, and which was the gift of that Sr Robert Astone, hath every letter fayre and curiously cast, and each crowned with a ducal crown, "Dominus Robertus de Astone Miles me fecit fieri A° quarto R. Ricardi scdi G." Lower than this in small letters was cast—

"'"Stepne Norton of Kent,
Me made in God intent."'"

Now this very couplet, with "Kent" and "intent" shortened into "Ket" and "entet," and "i" for "in," is found on the third bell in the tower of Chiselborough, near Ilminster, which also contains two other coeval bells of different stamp. The initial cross and word-stop are of great beauty, and the lettering unusually tall and elegant, but quite unlike those on the Canterbury and Snave bells. What could have taken this "man of Kent" all the way to a remote Somerset village is a mystery. We have no trace of him *en route*. In 1394 two Stephen Nortons, of Chart Sutton, father and son, are permitted by an *Ad quod damnum* writ to assign to the Convent at Modynden *inter alia* nine acres of meadow in "Bocton Monchesy." Considering that our Norton bought lands there, it argues for the identity of the two. But Stahlschmidt doubts whether there could have been a foundry in such a village as Chart Sutton. Some foundries, however, were in villages, *e.g.* at Aish Priors, Somerset, a cast from which parish

confronts me as I write. Perhaps, like some business men of to-day, he preferred to live on his land in a village, and carry out his work in the adjoining town of Maidstone.

At York the work of casting went on under one Johannes de Clyfforde, who made there a bell for Ripon Minster, *c.* 1377.* Yet only eight years before this the York Minster chapter employed a Leicester man, John de Stafford, as we find from their *Fabric Rolls*, A.D. 1371, published by the Surtees Society.†

"Expensce facte per Majistrum Campanis. Et in una Magna Campana, per Johannem de Stafford ex convencione operanda vj*li* xiij*s* iiij*d*. Et in xj c. turvis emptis pro igne circa le mold xj*s*. Et in vj scheppis de charlcole emptis pro eodem vij*s*. Et in j petra cepi empta xvj*d*. Et in unguent empto xvj*d*. Et in wort empto iiij*d*. Et in pape ‡ empto vj*d*. Et in wenggas emptis iiij*d*. Et in cariacione luti pro le mold et aliis necessariis circa campanam xj*s*. Et in stramine pis' empto iiij*d* ob. Et in j stapill pro campana empta iij*d*. Et in rosyn empto pro eodem iij*d*. Et in potu dato laborantibus circa dictam campanam fundendam iij*s* x*d* ob. Et in vj serzis § emptis pro le mold xxiij*d*. Et in dicta campana cum ferro pendenda xx*s*. Et in j magno claper empto pro eadem xvj*s* viij*d*. Et in j alia campana vocata John de novo pendenda cum j novo claper empto xxv*s*. Et in j alia campana vocata Chaunseler pendenda per ij vices cum j novo claper xx*s*. Et in m xij lb de ere et stagno emptis de Johanne de Kirkham danda pro c. xxvj*s* viij*d* xix*li* ix*s* vj*d*. Et in c. de stagno emptis pro magna campana xxx*s*. Et in campana pro le clok cum campana cementariorum de novo operandis lxvj*s* viij*d*. Et in xxj lb de messyng ‖ emptis de Ricardo Kyng iij*s* vj*d*. Et in campana in logio cementariorum pendenda iij*s* iiij*d*. Et in campana pro le clok in berefrido pendenda vj*s* vj*d*. Et in xj rigald ¶ emptis pro rotis campanarum cum sarracione

* *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 16, 1882.
† Vol. xxxv. 1858.
‡ Paper.
§ Large tapers.
‖ Metal.
¶ Timber.

iiij*s* iij*d*. Et in convencione facta cum domino Johanne Clareburgh pro j novo cloke operando cum toto apparatu p'ter plumbum et campanam xiij*li* vj*s* viij*d*. Et in permutacione facta cum Johanne de Kirkham pro alia magna campana pro le clok et habuit in emendacione cum campana ecclesie xx*li*. Et in putura, et reward, et aliis necessariis pro le clok iiij*s* iiij*d*. Et in pendicione ejusdem magne campana pro eodem cum ferro empto xj*s*. Summa lx*li* x*s* j*d*."

A translation may be acceptable—

"Expenses incurred by the Master for the Bells. For one great bell by John de Stafford by agreement for its making, £6 13*s*. 4*d*., And for eleven hundred turves bought for the fire round the mould, 11*s*., And for six skeps of charcoal bought for the same, 7*s*., And for one *petra cepi* bought, 16*d*., And for grease bought, 16*d*., And for wort bought, 4*d*., And for paper (?) bought 4*d*., And for wenges (? wedges) bought, 4*d*., And for carriage of slime for the mould and other necessaries about the bell, 11*s*., And for pea straw bought, 4½*d*., And for one staple bought for the bell, 3*d*., And for rosin bought for the same, 3*d*., And for drink given to workmen about casting the said bell, 3*s*. 10½*d*., And for six large tapers bought for the mould, 18*d*., And for hanging the said bell with iron, 20*s*., And for one great clapper bought for the same, 16*s*. 8*d*., And for hanging anew one other bell called John with one new clapper bought, 25*s*., And for hanging twice another bell called Chancellor, with one new clapper, 20*s*., And for 1012 lbs. of copper and tin bought of John of Kirkham at the rate of 26*s*. 8*d*. a hundredweight, £19 9*s*. 6*d*., And for a hundredweight of tin bought for the great bell, 30*s*., And for making anew a bell for the clock with the bricklayers' bell, 66*s*. 8*d*., And for 21 lbs. of metal bought of Richard Kyng, 3*s*. 6*d*., And for hanging a bell in the bricklayers' shed, 3*s*. 4*d*., And for hanging a bell for the clock in the belfry, 6*s*. 6*d*., And for eleven timbers bought for the wheels of the bells with the sawing, 4*s*. 3*d*., And for agreement made with Sir John Clareburgh for making one new clock with the whole apparatus except the lead and the bell, £13 6*s*. 8*d*., And for exchange made with John of Kirkham for another great bell for the

clock, and he had in allowance with the bell of the church, £20, And for refining, and reward, and other necessaries for the clock, 4*s.* 4*d.*, And for hanging the same great bell for the same (clock) with iron bought, 11*s.* Total £60 10*s.* 1*d.*"

In endeavouring to verify these accounts, I can only express my thankfulness that I am not an official auditor.

A man employed in so great a work at a distance would be sure to leave his mark in his own town. Accordingly, the tenor at All Saints, Leicester, is inscribed—

+ IHOHANNES ⁝ DE ⁝ STAFFORD ⁝ FECIT ⁝ ME ⁝ IN ⁝ HONORE ⁝
IHC
BE ⁝ MARIE.

He was mayor of the town in 1366, and again in 1370. The placing of the Saviour's name over that of the Virgin Mary is paralleled by the Thrussington treble in the same county, which has IHS over the first word of the Salutation. There are seven other Leicestershire bells with the same cross and lettering. One of these merits special mention, the treble at Aylestone, which is inscribed—

+ WILELMVS ⁝ FILIVS ⁝ IHOHANNIS ⁝ RE?EVVOUR
+ FECIT ⁝ ME ⁝ IN ⁝ HONORE ⁝ BEATE ⁝ MARIE.

North, in writing the first of his books, did not recognize that *fecit* always designates the maker, not the donor. But considering the identity of letter, who should be the father of this William but John de Stafford himself. *Resevour* is spelt *Rekevour* in a transaction quoted by Nichols. The date is May 1, 1412. This make is found in Craven, on the treble at Arncliffe, with a unique hexameter—

+ PETRE ⁝ POLI ⁝ CLAVIS ⁝ FAC ⁝ UT ⁝ INTRESNUS ⁝ QUA ⁝ VIS.

If this bell were one of those given by Prior Whixley of Fountains, the Leonine rhyme is accounted for.*

From Leicester we now turn to Gloucester, and a new subject is set before us in the seal of Sandre (Fig. 6), short for Alexander, of that town. For this bears in its centre not what we should have expected, a bell, but that which was no doubt a profitable article of manufacture, a laver pot, or ewer (Fr. *aiguiere*). In the *Promptorium Parvulorum* the work of the Campanarius, or Belleyettere, includes such things, "zetyne of metelle, as bellys, pannys, potys, and other like." So the maker of pots and pans advanced from the smaller to the greater, sometimes apparently to the surprised pleasure of his neighbours, as hinted by the inscription on the tenor at St. John Sepulchre, Norwich—

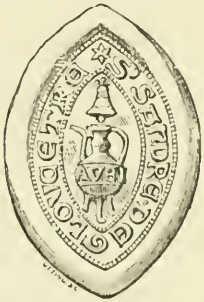


Fig. 6.

Has Tu Campanas Formasti Pottere Thomas.

We obtain from Ritson's labours a graphic description of a certain "proud potter" whom Robin Hood relieved of some of his goods, more to the potter's injury than to the outlaw's benefit. I shall speak more of him in a subsequent chapter.

Such a man coming to a parish with a broken bell would be ready with his advice, and, where circumstances were suitable, the upshot would be a recasting on the spot, otherwise the sending the bell to his foundry headquarters. The AVE on the ewer in the seal of Sandre de Gloucetre looks like one of the many tricks and riddles in which the men of

* Poppleton, *Bells in the West Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 73.

old indulged as freely as the men of our own day. Asked to complete the inscription, almost every one would name the Salutation. Then the vessel would be turned round, and the complete legend would be shown to be the commonplace VENEZ LAVEZ. Our lamented friend, the Rev. Canon Manning, Rector of Diss, exhibited in the temporary museum of the Royal Archæological Institute, at their Norwich meeting in 1889, a brass tripod ewer with this inscription. The tripod form shown on the seal is, of course, the very thing for heating water. The vessels themselves have not infrequently turned up, and were at first assigned to the Roman period, but in all probability they belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The subject has been discussed by the north-country archæologists, Wilson * and Bruce,† and in the Norwich volume of the *Archæological Journal.* ‡

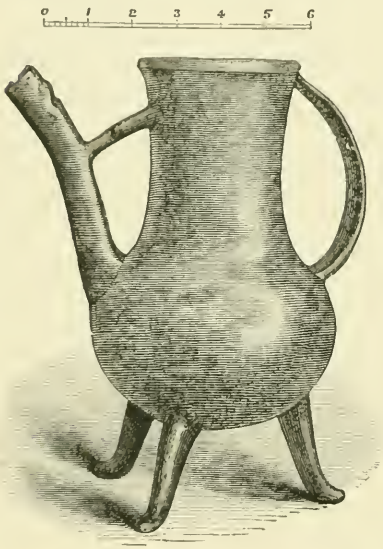


Fig. 7.

I give here, from my *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, an illustration (Fig. 7) of a laver of brass in the possession of Mr. Robinson, manager of the Cumberland Union Bank, Maryport. It was found at Allonby in 1876, near the sea, six feet deep in the sand. When another somewhat similar

* *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 278. † *Roman Wall*, p. 434.
‡ xiii. p. 72.

one was being scoured with hot water after its discovery, an aromatic smell came from it, as though the lees of some spiced liquor had remained in it during its long burial. The lid was of the simple hingeless order. These lavers will be found to occupy a prominent place in later stamps. The seal of Sandre de Gloucetre was bought from a London dealer, and nothing is known of its history.

The Lynn founders of the fourteenth century exhibited a duplicity of surname by no means unusual at that time. It would be useless to call a man Thomas of Lynn when he was at home, where his calling furnished the needful distinction. Thomas Belleyetere, who pays vj*s* viij*d* in the Lynn Subsidy Roll for 1333, may be taken as identical with Thomas de Lenne found on bells, only there may have been more than one of the same name and calling. Henry Belleyettere was mayor of Lynn 1399–1400. We find no Henricus de Lenne; but at Ampton, Suffolk, already mentioned, a strange medley is discovered. The third and fourth bells both bear the head of Edward III. The former is inscribed THOMAS FECIT, and the latter DERBY, dedicated to St. Margaret and St. Andrew respectively. The Lynn character seems impressed on both of them; nevertheless, the third bears an initial cross used by Thomas Potter of Norwich, admitted to the freedom of that city in 1404. It may be that the son of the London Henry Derby migrated to Lynn and kept his surname, his Christian name being Thomas, which also occurs as the name of a founder in a strange linguistic mixture at Long Stratton St. Mary, Norfolk—

JESU EN LE BON DE TOI
SIRE JON SCVRSMIN FIT FERE MOI
THOMAS MADE ME

From Lynn to Norwich is a natural course. Like this

Long Stratton bell, the earliest Norwich bell known, that at Hellesdon, records the donor as well as the founder :—

JOHNES DE HEYLESDON ME FECIT FIERI
IN HONORE MATRIS CRESTI.
WILELLMUS DE NORWYCO ME FECIT.

This William of Norwich is too late for the Wilelmus Brasyere whose name occurs in the Norwich Militia (Wymer Ward) in 1355.* He was probably the man admitted to the freedom of the city in 1376 as William of Notyngham, brasier for the donor of the Hellesdon bell is doubtless the patron of the church and founder of the chantry there, who died on April 19, 1384. A few bells more of this make remain, all in Norfolk, save one at Conington, Cambs., inscribed—

ASSUMPTA : EST : MARIA : IN : CELUM : GAUDENT : ANGELI
LAUDANTES : BENEDICUNT DOMINUM

This might have been cast on the founder's journey from Nottingham to Norwich. His lettering is small, about five-eighths of an inch high. Another brasier, William Sutton, was admitted to the freedom of the city in 1392, but his name does not occur on any bells.

We ought to be able to give some account of the work in the middle of England, but as yet there is little to say. Vilelmvs Dvddelai, presumably connected with the Worcestershire town, appears on a little single bell at Well, Lincolnshire, with pretty small cross, capitals and *fleur-de-lis* word-stop, but there is no second instance of the name. Another solitary case is Nicolas at Bramber, in Sussex, without a surname. An ecclesiastical founder, Thomas Dekun, is named at Catwick, in Holderness.

* Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society papers, xiv. part iii. p. 308.

At this point it may be well to leave the founders for a while, and give some space to earlier mediæval usages. Of the Curfew little need be said. The accepted Alfred and Carfax story is defective in authority, though it may very easily be true. William the Conqueror's ordinance of 1068 is more trustworthy. Before his time the practice was well known on the Continent, and not unknown in England, no doubt as a precaution against fire. The repeal of the Curfew ordinance in the first year of Henry I. is less comprehensible, but the practice, unprohibited, remained through the ages, and with variations remains to the present day. The usual hour, eight o'clock, was varied in some country places to nine in the summer, as at Mildenhall, Suffolk, in my youth. Should any one desire to know the different phases which the Curfew assumes in the limits of one county, let him consult North's *Church Bells of Lincolnshire*.* The fact that the Curfew was not sounded on Festival Days is accounted for by the ringing of all the bells on these occasions. Religious and secular usages cannot be altogether divorced. In the minds of many the *Ignitegium* would be a call to Vesper Prayers. After a while we find traces of a Mattins bell, and just before the fourteenth century had closed an order came forth from Archbishop Arundel commanding one *Pater Noster* and five *Ave Marias* to be said at dawn. To bring this to mind, a bell was rung called the *Angelus*. When, therefore, we read, as it so often happens, the full words of the Annunciation, or the name of the angel Gabriel, it is no great strain to the mental vision to see that this special bell was so used. A further extension of ringing at noontide was made in some places, as at Cropredy, Oxfordshire. Early in the reign of King Edgar (960) the new canons provided for the notification of

* Pages 203 *et seq.*

the hours by bell-ringing as preliminary to prayers in the church. Yet within seventeen years Archbishop Dunstan's rules apply only to religious houses. For parochial churches the Edgar canons could not fail frequently to be inoperative, through the isolated position of many churches, and the want of residence in other cases.

Elaborate instructions were issued in 1339 by John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, which recommend the Use of the Cathedral, and still hardly can have been intended to apply but to a few churches, as they necessitate two towers with four bells in each :—

"Item statuimus quod omni die per annum extra feriam sextam parasceves et sabbato sancto cantetur solempnis missa de Beata Maria in capella ejusdem antequam pulsetur ad primam die: ad quam missam in omnibus majoribus duplicibus festis per totum annum maxima campana ecclesie pulsetur; in mediis vero duplicibus secunda major campana; in omnibus aliis duplicibus tercia major campana; et quando Invitatorium tercio habetur, quarta major; et predicte quatuor majores campane debeant pendere sicut Exonie in parte ecclesie dextra, et alie cotidie quatuor in sinistra, quarum majores semper ad missam Beate Marie pulsentur nisi in predictis temporibus, et semper cum illa campana que debet pulsari ad missam Beate Marie, pulsari debet Ignitegium. Pulsabitur ad missam sic: Primo illa campana, cum qua pulsari debet, terminatur octo vel decem ictibus continuis, et facto bono intervallo quasi dimidii milliarii pulsetur cum eadem campana per dimidium milliarii et cessetur et iterum statim repulsetur eadem per totum tempus ac primo et cessetur; et statim tercia pulsetur brevius; et tunc celeriter clerici omnes et pueri cum duobus ad minus vicariis vadant sine mora ad capellam Beate Marie, et dictis horis Beate Marie, cum sufficiens numerus venerit, incepiatur statim missa et terminatur campana."

By this ordinance a solemn Mass of the Virgin was to be sung daily, save on Good Friday and Easter Eve, before

Prime. On Greater Double feasts the great bell was to be rung, on Middle Doubles the next in magnitude, on all other Doubles the third in magnitude. In these feasts the Invitatory was quadruple: when it was triple the fourth bell in size was rung. After directions for hanging and for the Curfew, follow those for the Mass of the Virgin: eight or ten strokes, a good interval, five hundred strokes with the same bell, a short pause, then a repetition of the whole, another short pause, then the third bell rung more shortly, or it may mean more quickly. Then the clerks, boys, and vicars go to the chapel of the Virgin, and when a sufficient congregation is assembled, the bell is to stop and the Mass begin. So too in case of Communion of the Sick. When the priest was proceeding to the sick man's house he carried a bell with him to let the people know his errand, and thus call forth their sympathy in prayers (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8.

There is a copy of Lyndewode's *Provinciale* in the library of Thetford Grammar School, from which I copied the following extracts on the subject: "Pecham. Sacerdote saltem induto superplicio et gerenti orarium cum lumine previo in lucerna cum campana ut populus ad reverentiam debitam excitetur." On which ordinance, Lambeth, 1281, Lyndewode remarks: "Campana vero huius statuti sequitur in textu Scias tn̄ quod si sacerdos revertatur vacuus sine hostia debet extinguere lumen et facere quod non pulsetur campanula

ne populus adorando committeret ydolotriam . . . host. . . ." It is important to our purpose to see *campana* explained by *campanula.* He says that there is nothing from Archbishop Edmund Rich (1234–1244), but from Peckham's successor I found this fragment: "Wynchelsee . . . tintinnabulum ad deferendum coram corpore Xpristi (*sic*) in visitatione infirmorum . . . campanas . . . cum cordis."

From the same copy I obtained this early notice of the sacring bell: "Pecham. De celebracione missarum. In elevatione corporis Xpristi (*sic*) ab una parte ad minus campane pulsentur ut plures qui celebrationi missarum non valent cotidie interesse ubicunque fuerint sive in agris sive in domibus flectent genua indulgencias concessas a pluribus episcopis habituri." Lyndewode's gloss is "*Pulsentur* ut sonent ex una parte ad minus. *Campanæ* non intelligas de pluribus illo tempore simul pulsandis in una ecclesia quia sufficit unam sonari. Sed pluraliter loquitur respectu plurium ecclesiarum. Et hec pulsatio fieri debet de campanis illis que longius possunt audiri quod satis patet per rationem que sequitur Ut populares (*sic*) . . . ubi ponitur finis ob quem sic statuitur." William Lyndewode, Bishop of St. David's and Lord Privy Seal, died in 1446, and his *Provinciale* is therefore about a century and a half after Archbishop Peckham's time.

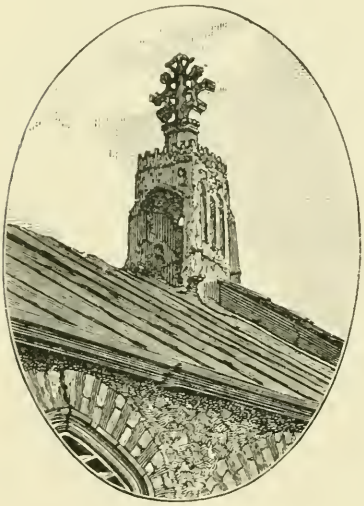


Fig. 9.

Doubtless it is not without reason that he notes the multiplication of bells in the interval.

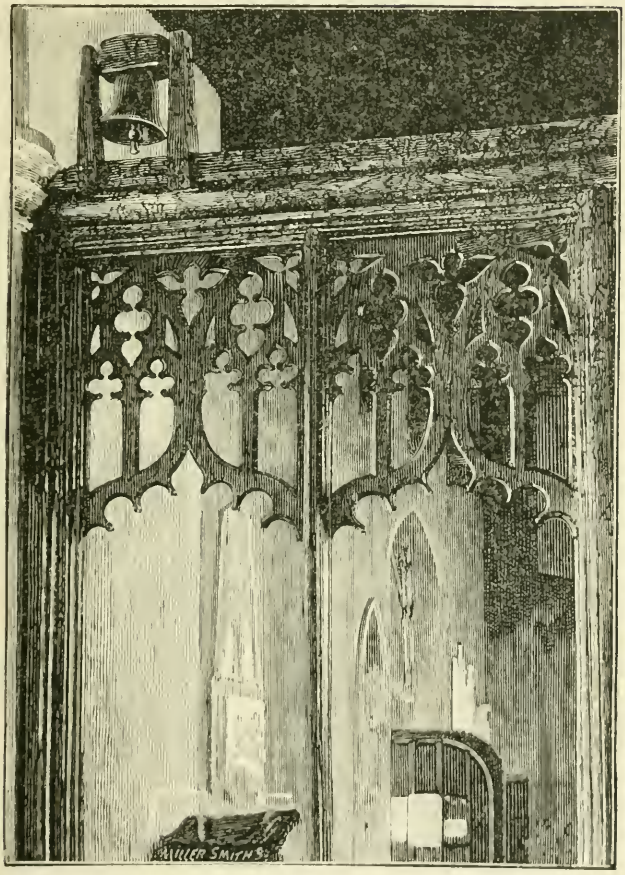


FIG. 10.

In text B of Canon Simmons's edition of *The Lay-folks' Mass-book*, which he regards as written *c.* 1375, the use of the sacring bell is referred to as a known custom—

"A litel belle men oyse to ryng.
ȝen shall ȝou do reuerence
to ihesu crist awen presence."

Lydgate, who was born *c.* 1370, says of himself that in his boyhood he was—

"Rediere chirstoonys * for to telle
Than gon to chirche or heere the sacry belle."

Born in the Risbridge Hundred in Suffolk, he pronounces "stones" just as the word would now be pronounced in the county.

In after times the use of the sacring bell called forth much bitter animadversion, as unreasonable as the reverence with which the little instrument was regarded by the ignorant. No error could possibly have been propagated by it. Its function inside the church was that performed daily and hourly in every elementary school in the kingdom by the teacher's dish-bell, calling for silence and attention, while in the fields the labourer, or on the road the traveller, might often have his thoughts drawn from the transitory to the permanent.

An instance of the latter is given from Fressingfield (Fig. 9), and of the former from Hawstead (Fig. 10), two Suffolk churches.

* Cherry-stones.

CHAPTER VIII

THE *CIRE PERDUE*—HEXAMETERS—ORNAMENTATION—MIGRATION OF FOUNDERS—POWER OF BELLS OVER STORMS, ETC.—THE PASSING BELL—ANGELIC DEDICATIONS

THE method of casting known by the name of *cire perdue* is of great antiquity and of wide application. Pausanias, the historian and geographer of the days of Hadrian, tells us that Theodorus, the son of Telekles, of Samos, was the reputed inventor of bronze casting, in the sixth century B.C. The plan of making a strong core, modelling on it in destructible wax the form of the object to be cast, moulding on this model a cope close-fitting to it, melting by fire this wax model, and finally pouring the liquid metal into the hollow thus formed, seems to have gone on with little change through the ages. It is visible in Richard Tunnoc's window in York Minster. It is the regulator of weight in Walter of Odyngton. It came from the six large tapers which are charged for in John de Stafford's bill. Had we more accounts at command, we should be sure to find *cera empta.* The beautiful lettering of which we have seen instances was impressed into the mixture of clay and other ingredients which encircled the crown of the model, and this mixture must have been as

delicate as wax. Lettering, indeed, had its epochs. Simple at first, it became crowned, but the period of crowned Longobardic lettering was not eternal.

Here I must say a few words about the Chertsey fifth bell, for which the date of 1310 has been claimed, on the ground, *inter alia*, that crowned Longobardic lettering is not found at a later date. But we find it used by Stephen Norton between 1363 and 1392, by John Sturdy about 1450, on the first letters of a black-letter bell at Shenley, Bucks; and this Chertsey bell bears the lion mark of the Wokingham foundry, of a distinctly later type.

As, however, we approach the black-letter period, versification becomes much more prominent. The simple Scriptural quotations yield in more instances to the Leonine hexameter. These rhyming productions were not favourably regarded in the Augustan period, though Ovid is always using the *homoioteleuton* for his pentameters, while in Greek iambics it is regarded as a sin to have two consecutive lines ending in the same sound. Many of my readers will remember the story of the not too literary University man reading in a note to one of the tragedies of Euripides that τάδε, not τόδε, was the version of one editor "to avoid the *homoioteleuton*," exclaimed with fervour, "Oh, avoid the *homoioteleuton* by all means! *I always do!*" Ovid's use of it in pentameters became extended to hexameters, *e.g.*—

"Quot cœlum stellas, tot habet Roma puellas,"

which is evidently intentional. Some attribute the name Leonine to Pope Leo II., whose papacy was shorter in time (682–684) than his patronage of music, others to a canon of the Church of St. Benedict in Paris, Leonius, the poetical narrator of the history of the world, who flourished about the

time of the first Crusade. As St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who died in 1153, employed this rhyme form so largely, especially in his poem, *De Contemptu Mundi*, whence may be quoted the original of an English couplet too well known to need translation—

> "Demon languebat, monachus tunc esse volebat.
> Ast ubi convaluit, mansit ut ante fuit,"

the Leonine designation seems to go back to the Pope. The same conclusion may be drawn from the verses of Walter Mapes, though they are a little later than those of St. Bernard. The rhyming hexameter, however, took some time to reach the foundry, and the specimens which we possess, all along the line, are not to be put before the schoolboy for imitation. Bad grammar, false quantities, and impossibilities in scansion abound, to say nothing of exaggeration of hagiological reverence. The obtaining of a rhyme involved much labour and ingenuity. In later times English verse was expedited by the *Manipulus Vocabulorum*, but no Latin rhyming dictionary can be indicated as having existed. As at Arncliffe the middle ending, *Clavis*, had to be matched by two words, *Qua vis*, so it will be seen in other legends that the young lover's difficulty in finding a rhyme to *grudge* in the nineteenth century was not unparalleled in these distant days.

In one inscription the composer must have been in despair; if not, the secret has perished with him, and his interpreters give up the riddle, perhaps with a sigh of relief. It is the treble at Madingley, Cambridgeshire, seen in my undergraduate days, which presents its Delphic utterance. All is clear till the end of the line—

+ DICOR EGO THOMAS LAVS EST XPI SORVS OMAS.

Any solution of this enigma will be gratefully received by its recorder. It would have been well, indeed, if some "sufficient clerk" (to use the expression of the Council of Clarendon) had been at the founder's elbow when the inscription was prepared for impression into the mould. Colkirk, in Norfolk, would not then have been adorned with—

+ O CIDUS CELI FAC BARBARA CRIMINA DELI.

where *deli* surely must be meant for *deleri*, which would have spoilt the rhyme. This beautiful line scans, at any rate; but what can be said for the second at Winthorpe, Lincolnshire? Here we read—

+ Antonius monet ut Campana bene sonet

and this is black letter, of a later time.

Any attempt to cramp this exquisite line into a hexameter or a pentameter will end, like a well-intentioned effort to straighten the shoulders of a hunchback, by snapping his tendons. At Assington, Suffolk, there is an unmistakeable attempt at a pentameter, but, alas! as great a failure as the aforequoted. The singular, too, is used for the plural—

+ HOC : SIGNUM : SERVA : XPE : MARIA : THOMA.

Thus syntax and metre alike suffer, as in the case of the later versifier, who after much agony over Sir Walter Scott's beautiful lines—

"Call it not vain; they do not err,
Who say that when the Poet dies,
Mute Nature mourns her worshipper,
And celebrates his obsequies,"

produced "Figmentum cogita non." *

* See my *Church Bells of Suffolk*, p. 11.

I am bound in justice to the mediæval bellfounders to say that these inscriptions are about as bad as I could light upon, and as we pass into the black-letter period they will be found to be more metrically and syntactically correct, though possibly not so amusing. Bury St. Edmund's could do better, as already recorded. Some one of its monks composed two lines for the bell called "Hugh"—

> "Martiris Eadmundi iussum decus hic ita fundi
> Anselmi donis donum manus aptat Hugonis." *

The first royal head which greets us is that attributed to the English Justinian, our first Edward, and the delineation of his stern but noble features deserves the reproduction which it has received. The identity of this head with that of Edward I. in the choir of York Minster rests on length of nose, prominent bushy locks, and long beard. It occurs with that of a queen, whom we take to be Eleanor of Castile, eight times in Gloucestershire, but not in Somerset, Dorset, Devon, or Cornwall. The cross gives us no clue to the foundry, and this group may date from the days of the great jurist monarch. The same heads and cross are on the second and third bells at Marston St. Laurence, and the fourth at Potterspury, in Northamptonshire, but at Grafton Regis, in the same county, with a smaller plain cross, to be treated of in this chapter, and the royal heads on all these bells, and in the Gloucestershire group, are not as in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, on the shoulder, but as stops between the words of the inscription; and the two Marston bells, especially the larger one, bear hexameters not to be omitted. The second has—

PRO · CHOME · LAVDE · RESONABO · MODO · SINE FRAVDE.

* Dr. M. R. James, *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*, p. 199.

a legend subject to considerable variations. The third names an Edward, and why not the Edward whose head we regard as placed on it?

EDWARDI · NOCA · SONET · HEC · DVLCISSIMA · COCA.

The recollection of Queen Eleanor's crosses in the county cannot but occur to the mind. In Bedfordshire the king's head exists alone at one place, Sundon; in Cambridgeshire at Chippenham; in Norfolk at West Lynn and Wimbotsham; in Leicestershire at Thurcaston *; all with a cross of a later period. At Teigh, Rutland, the queen precedes the king. Even after two centuries have passed away the king's head does not pass away, but reappears among the marks of Leicester and Nottingham foundries.

Another royal pair must now claim notice. The fourth at Great Shelford, near Cambridge, early came under my eye, but, save the heads, it has neither inscription nor mark. Others have turned up in Warwickshire, Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Staffordshire, and Hertfordshire. Of the heads on the fourth bell at Wyddial, Herts, which is very badly stamped, Stahlschmidt says that "a very careful examination proves them to be the portraits of Edward III. (Fig. 11) and his queen, Philippa."† For my own part, I entirely agree with this view, nor do I think that it has been combated by any one. This bell bears thrice a sadly blurred circular stamp with four *fleur-de-lis*, apparently unique. Most of these bells have the same

FIG. 11.

* Thurcaston has the queen's head as well as the king's.

† *Church Bells of Hertfordshire*, p. 11.

initial cross as in the later group of those with the heads of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor. Both royal couples are to be congratulated on the preservation of their heads, which passed into the hands of Nottingham founders, and were frequently reproduced, the later monarch and his queen appearing at Duffield, Derbyshire, on a bell cast by the younger Thomas Hedderly, of Nottingham, in 1786. When Hampshire is investigated fully, some more may be found to be added to the fifth and sixth at the Minster, Christchurch, which have the little cross. These bear Leonine hexameters, two to each bell, and unknown elsewhere, so that we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Cocks for recording them in his *Church Bells of Buckinghamshire.** The fifth bears—

+ SIC : NOBIS : OMEN : COVZEYNS : CUM : SIC : TIBI : NOMEN.

Then comes the king's head, followed by—

VIRTVS : CAMPANE : FACIAT : NOS : VIVERE : SANE.

It is refreshing to find the French dissyllable rescuing the hexameter. The sixth varies the treatment by substituting line rhyme for half-line rhyme—

+ MOX : AVGVSTINVS : HEC : DVM : RESONAT : PRECO : MAGNVS,

and after the king's head—

ASSIS : FESTIVVS : PESCES : PIVS : VT : FVGET : AGNVS.

The former line would not pass muster under a severe inspector, I fear.

The smaller plain cross of which mention has been made in connection with Grafton Regis dates back a long way in

* Page 11.

the record of the metropolitan founders, though not to the earliest of them. It is engraved in Stahlschmidt's *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders*,* with the lettering used by Robert Rider, from whose hand but two bells remain bearing his name. These are the trebles at Ford, Sussex, and Hartley, Kent, of the ordinary "me fecit" legend, the only variation being that the surname is "Rider" in the first example and "Ridre" in the second. According to the usage of the period, he made two wills, dealing respectively with his personalty and his realty. Both seem to have perished; and the loss of the former is great, as there was likely to be in it much instructive detail with regard to his business. The former was enrolled in the Hustings Court, dated 1386. His third wife was Cristina, and among other bequests he left her his claim on John and Walter, his apprentices, for their unfinished term of apprenticeship. His body was to be buried in the churchyard of St. Andrew-over-Cornhill (better known as St. Andrew Undershaft), and he had a son, Sir John Rider, chaplain. There is no reference to the transference of the business, but the little cross passed into other hands. It appears, in addition to the bells already named, on the fine tenor in Carlisle Cathedral, which belongs to the time of Bishop Strickland (1400–1419), and at Barnardiston, Suffolk, with lettering identical with that at Ford and Hartley. On the Barnardiston tenor is—

+ OMNES : SANCCI : DEI : ORATE : PRO : NOBIS,

which words agree in sentiment, though not in diction, with those on the Christchurch fifth.

The connection of Suffolk with the London foundries, shown undoubtedly by William de Suffolk and Alan de

* Plate IX.

Suffolk, and probably by Philip de Ufford, receives a ray of light from Robert Rider's will, for William Episwych was co-executor with John Corn, fishmonger. The site of the foundry can be distinctly traced. Stahlschmidt possessed a deed of conveyance, dated 1405, from Robert Burford, citizen and bellfounder, to John atte Lee, citizen and candle-maker, of a house in St. Andrew, Cornhill, abutting to the north on Aldgate Street, now Leadenhall Street. The only part of the south side of Leadenhall Street which lies in St. Andrew's parish is eastward from Lime Street, about two-thirds of the distance towards Billiter Street, and here must have been the foundry. If East Anglia could send her business sons to London, other parts could send theirs to East Anglia. In fact, the migrations from one part of England to another, as indicated by the surnames in one part corresponding with the names of parishes in another part, are well worth more attention than has been bestowed on them. There is certainly a hint of such a migration from the West Riding into Norfolk, temporary it may be, when William Silisden cast the little three for Old Walsingham. The only place in England which shows any resemblance to his surname is what is now Silsden, in Yorkshire, not far from Ilkley. Some connection between these distant places existed through the fact that the advowson of Kirkby-in-Malhamdale belonged to the priory of West Dereham, and the Norfolk surnames of several vicars are given in Whitaker's *History of Craven.* The old Walsingham treble is inscribed—

+ SANCCOVS GEORGIVS ORA PRO NOBIS.

The others should have been of the simple "me fecit" order, but William from the north halted between two opinions, varying "fecit" on the second by "fesid" on the third. Nothing

apparently is known about his initial cross and lettering. He may be commended to the care of Mr. Poppleton. His Latinity does not indicate careful schooling.

With regard to mediæval uses, it is easier to find their ends than their beginnings. There was undoubtedly a widespread and deeply-rooted trust in their power over evil spirits in things material as well as things spiritual. So in those old, varied, and oft-quoted hexameters, the origin of which I know not—

> "Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,
> Funera plango, fulgura frango, sabbata pango,
> Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro,"

there are two distinct allusions to the expulsion of demons.

The former idea is attacked by Latimer in characteristic language in one of his Lincolnshire sermons, preached in 1552. After mentioning the recommendation of holy water for a sick man by an old woman, he adds—

> "See here the foolishness of people, that in the time of the light of God's most holy word will follow such phantasies and delusions of the devil! Ye know, when there was a storm or a fearful weather, then we rang the holy bells: they were they that must make all things well; they must drive away the devil! But I tell you, if the holy bells would serve against the devil, or that he might be put away through their sound, no doubt we would soon banish him out of all England. For, I think, if all the bells in England should be rung together at a certain hour, I think there would be almost no place, but some bells might be heard there. And so the devil should have no abiding place in England, if ringing of bells should serve; but it is not that will serve against the devil."

On this his editor, Dr. Corrie, formerly Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, most aptly quotes the accounts of the parish of Sandwich for 1464, in which year there is an

item for bread and cheese for the "ryngers in the gret thunderyng." * Latimer uses the plural in speaking of these remedies against tempestuous weather.

Bishop Pilkington, of Durham, in the next generation uses twice the singular number, "the hallowed bell." † Perhaps this was the Lancashire ‡ usage, one special bell set apart for the purpose, most likely the largest, because the sound more widely spread would drive the persecuting demons a greater distance, and thus not only bring better weather, but work to other more personal ends.

This trust in the dispersion of storms was not confined to England. Barnaby Googe, who travelled on the Continent in his youth, alludes, in his translation of the *Popish Kingdome* of Naogeorgus, to the belief—

"I saw myself at Numburg once, a town in Toring coast,
A bell that with this title bold hirself did proudly boast:
By name I Mary called am, with sound I put to flight
The thunder crackes and hurtful stormes, and every wicked sprite."

It is a pity that we have not the original Latin of these words, for they rather indicate an extension of the well-known black-letter inscription—

+ Virginis Egregie. Vocor Campana Marie

The history of the Passing Bell is encompassed with some difficulty. The earliest instance on record is in the well-known account of the death of the Abbess Hilda, of Strenaeshale, now Whitby. This indicates the sounding of the bell after death.

* Parker Society, i. 498. † Ibid., 177, 596.
‡ He was a native of Rivington.

"Erat in ipso monasterio quædam sanctimonialis femina, nomine Begu, quæ xxx et amplius annos dedicata Domino virginitate, in monachica conversatione serviebat. Hæc tunc in dormitorio sororum pausans, audivit subito in aere notum campanæ sonum, quo ad orationes excitari vel convocari solebant, *cum quis eorum de sæculo fuisset evocatus*; apertisque, ut sibi videbatur, oculis, aspexit, detecto domus culmine, fusam desuper lucem omnia replevisse; cui videlicet luci dum sollicita intenderet, vidit *animam præfatæ Dei famulæ in ipsa luce, comitantibus ac ducentibus angelis, ad cælum ferri.*" *

Death was over. The bell announced the ascent of the released soul. The archangel Michael is often spoken of as the special guardian of the departed saint. Thus the second bell in a church dedicated to St. Michael, Taddington, in Derbyshire, bears "Custos sanctus nostrarum Michael it dux animarum," whether in Longobards or black letter, I know not; and there are other like inscriptions. As time went on, other uses in sickness and at death arose. Durandus, writing about the time of Richard I., gives clear instructions as to ringing for persons *in extremis*, with the intent to have the prayers of their neighbours for them in their last earthly hours, twice for a woman, and thrice for a man, for a clerk as many times as he has orders.

This practice survived the Reformation, receiving the approval of Bishop Hooper and Archbishop Grindal, commanded by royal injunctions of 1559, and by the sixty-seventh of the canons of 1603. In the early Georgian period it began to fail. Persons recovered after their soul bell had sounded, and ill-natured people would be sure, after their wont, to make an uncomfortable use of the circumstance. Nicholls, the historian of Leicestershire, speaking of the death of a Mr. Crane of Melton Mowbray, about 1738, says

* *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 21.

that he "was the first person for whom the bell tolled after death; till when the custom was for it to pass before, agreeably to the primitive institution." North's * reference to an old lady named Law, who died in 1874, aged about ninety-four years, is very much to the purpose. She recollected the passing bell being rung in the old way at King's Cliffe, and that on one occasion it tolled for a lady who recovered her health. King's Cliffe must have adhered to "ancient lathers" longer than most parishes, for by the middle of the eighteenth century there was a general disuse of the soul bell.

Where there exists any dedication to the archangel Michael we may suppose the bell to be intended specially for this purpose. The apocalyptic vision, in which St. John witnessed the archangel's victory over the dragon, was the basis of this touching trust on the part of the dying and of their friends. One inscription ends sometimes with the name of St. Michael, and sometimes with that of the angel Gabriel, and once with that of the angel Raphael—

+ Dulcis Sisto Melis. Campana Vocor Michis,

as it appears in East Anglia. When I was writing *The Church Bells of Suffolk*, I expressed myself as much exercised about the true meaning of this line. Sometimes the second word is *cisto*, which, as I suggested, might have been a mistake for *cista*, and *melis*, an utterly abnormal form, might have lost a letter. Thus the line would read *Dulcis cista mellis campana vocor Michaelis* ("Box of sweet honey, I am called Michael's bell") with an allusion to the shape of a bell, and what Mr. Haweis calls a "combination hum." Afterwards I found in the

* *Bell Lore*, p. 122.

Cratfield Church accounts for 1513 the word for "chest" written *sista*, the box in question evidently being the one given by Roger Walsch, remaining to this day. The entry is "Johēs Therketyl . . . debitor LV*s* V*d*. qū solut̄ eodem die et deliberat̄ in *sista*." I have as yet failed to discover any use for *cista* or *sista* for a hive, but the former in the eighth-century Epinal Glossary is explained by the pertinent words, *corbes grandes*, a country term for a large basket. A greater puzzle, with the word **melis**, exists on the treble at Bitterley, Shropshire,* of unknown make, which is inscribed—

hic : sono : que : melis : campana : vocor : gabrielis.

Taking this as it stands, my *mellis* interpretation utterly breaks down, nor would any other be likely to prevail. Mr. Walters, however, comes to the rescue, suggesting that the words are a jumble of two hexameters, one beginning *Hic sono que*, and the other *Dulcis sisto*. The only other suggestion which I can offer about *melis* is that the tragedian Pacuvius, about the middle of the second century B.C., has a form *melum* for a melody, of which *melis* might be the ablative plural; but it is improbable that mediæval craftsmen at Norwich or Bristol should have made the acquaintance of this inflection. I mention the latter city because at Deopham, Norfolk, the hexameter is on the tenor, in Longobardic lettering, with the Bristol wheel, and ending with RAFAELIS.

The Gabriel bells, with a variety of dedication lines, are suggestive of the *angelus* bell, of which we have no account at this period, though the perpetual recurrence of the Salutation in whole or in part surely favours the theory of such a custom growing up. If manorial lords could utilize the bell of the church hard by the hall for alarm for fire, servants'

* Walters's *Church Bells of Shropshire*, p. 103.

meals, etc., they could also by its voice rouse sluggards in the morning, as some careful farmers at the present day assemble their men by the more peremptory sound of a gun. Then the clergy saw their way to improve this custom to a religious purpose, and this may have led to the mandate issued by Archbishop Arundel in 1399, enjoining the repetition of the *Pater Noster* once, with *Ave* five times at early dawn. In Dr. Tyssen's *Church Bells of Sussex* * there is an undeniable survival of the *angelus* bell given, the bell in the market tower at Lewes, which was recast by John Tonne in the reign of Henry VIII., and now bears a mangled form of a well-known hexameter—

+ Missi De Celis · Babeo · Nomen · Gabrielis,

wrenched by the foundry into—

+ menti + dedeus + babio + nomen + gabrielis.

Thomas Barrett, of Lewes, was paid in 1690 four pounds for ringing "Old Gabriel," throughout the year at four o'clock in the morning and eight at night, and the market bell is still known by the angel's name.† At whatever date the *angelus* bell may have been introduced, it survives to the present day in many places as a morning bell rung at six. A frequently occurring hexameter on a "Gabriel" bell is—

+ Missus Vero pie · Gabriel Fert Leta Marie.

The second word in this inscription presented a difficulty to me, whereof the solution appears to be that the word *autem* in the Vulgate, rendered by "now," was discovered to spoil the scansion, and so *vero* was ingeniously substituted.

* Page 81.

† North, *Bell Lore*, p. 103.

The name of the angel Raphael occurs on the fifth bell * at Wymington, Bedfordshire, with the marks of Henry Jurden of London, who died in the reign of Edward IV., in the line—

+ Musa Rafaelis Sonat Auribus Emanuelis,

and a triple invocation is on the second bell at Bale, Norfolk—

+ NOBIS : SVCCVRRE : MICHAEL : RAPHAEL : GABRIEL : Q :

The spelling of the Saviour's name in the glorious passage in Isaiah shows that it was not familiar, the duplication of *m* being, so far as I can find, invariable both in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, however the slovenliness of later times may have reduced it. The Raphael dedication is generally rare, but occurs twice, with *ora pro nobis*, in Gloucestershire, viz. at Boddington and Elmstone Hardwicke. Like the Wymington bell, they carry us down the stream of history, but I wish to bring together the angelic dedications. This Gloucestershire couple belongs to a group of eighteen in that county, with marks not identified, their position indicating Gloucester rather than Bristol as their origin. The other sixteen bells are at Aldworth (3), Charfield, Cromhall, Dowdeswell, Driffield (2), Farmington, Gloucester St. Nicholas, Hewelsfield, Leigh, Sevenhampton, Lower Slaughter, Standish, and Woolaston. Some difficulty in the case of Standish is caused by the inscription—

+ SANCTA : MARIA : TVO : SVCVRRE : PIISIMA : SERVO :
TVO : WINELMO : LAWLEY : VICAIRE : GAVE : ME,

coupled with Ellacombe's note that William Lawley was

* It is to be noted that this bell has crowned capitals.

vicar of the parish since the Reformation. Mr. Walters notes other bells of this mark beyond the confines of the county, two at Offchurch and one at Butler's Marston, Warwickshire, and single bells at Letton and Yarpole, Herefordshire, and at Overbury, Worcestershire. Some light may yet be thrown on the history of these Raphael inscriptions.

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNING OF THE BLACK-LETTER PERIOD

THE Longobardic lettering took a long time to expire. Yet the comparative handiness of the later scribes' system won its way through manuscripts to epitaphs graven in brass, and to inscriptions impressed on the moulds of bronze vessels. Another point of vantage was economy in room. What was called in later Elizabethan times by the name of *black-letter*, not only occupied a much smaller space than the old capitals, but was much more amenable to abbreviations. Hence in the foundries of the larger towns capital letters were reserved for the beginning of words, and so another benefit came in the abolition of the word-stop, rhyme-stops only being used, and these gradually disappearing.

The Latinity of dedications improved, both in point of syntax and of scansion, though irregularities in each kind are to be observed, and the capital letters sometimes reached an excellence in design and execution which will speak for itself. Were it possible to fix a date for the introduction of black-letter, I should agree with North and Stahlschmidt in selecting 1420. Of course, it must be borne in mind that localities were by no means uniform in such changes.

A confluence of the two types occurs on the second bell

at Greystoke, Cumberland, the record of which we owe to the Rev. H. Whitehead.* He reluctantly leaves a gap in the interpretation of the words, expanding them into—

+ CAMONIVS dns COLLEGII (MAGISTER). . . . PAR ECCE WILLELMVS me FABRICARE FACIT ERASMVS SVm SONO QINT.

He will, I am sure, pardon me for turning some of the letters right side upwards, in despite of the original. Some day Master William may be found up, and confirm, it is to be hoped, the date theory above mentioned. The initial cross (Fig. 12), with cup-shaped ends to the four lines, may help to the identification of the foundry from which Master William's *facit* came.†

The dedicatory hexameters to the Virgin Mary are various. A Longobard at Peter's Marland, Devon, takes the form—

+ PROCEGE VIRGO PIA QVOS CONVOCO SANCTA MARIA

The shortening of the letter *o*, twice in a line, joined to the lengthening of the *a* in *pia*, led to an improvement in the later period elsewhere, though the black-letter did not kill the old reading in Wessex—witness bells at Coffinswell and other places. However, at Barking, Suffolk, and Membury, Devon, we have—

+ Protege Prece Pia Quos Convoco Sancta Maria,

with a London initial cross, thus exchanging three false quantities for one, the first syllable in *Prece* being short,

* *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Scientific Society*, xi. 140.

† A smaller form (Fig. 14) is often found. With them also are connected Figs. 13 and 15. Fig. 16, which is very rare, seems likewise to hail from London. The shield of Thomas Ballisdon (Fig. 17), of London, belongs to the earlie days of the sixteenth century.

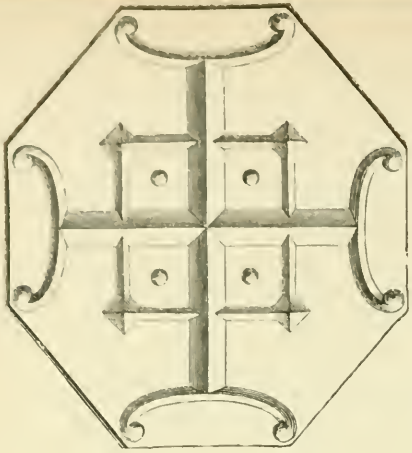


FIG. 12.

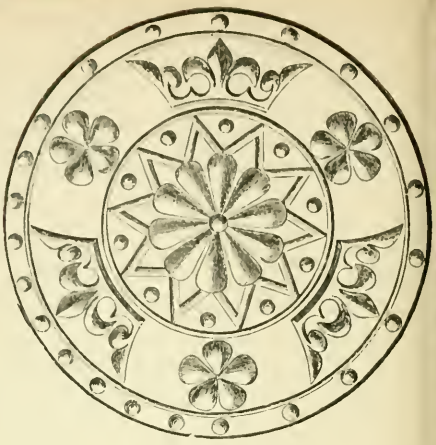


FIG. 13.

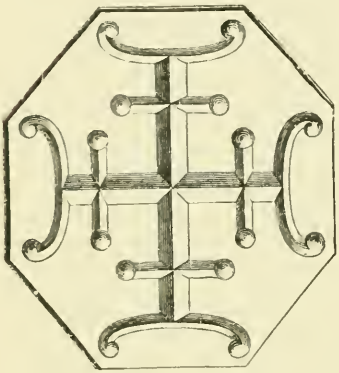


FIG. 14.

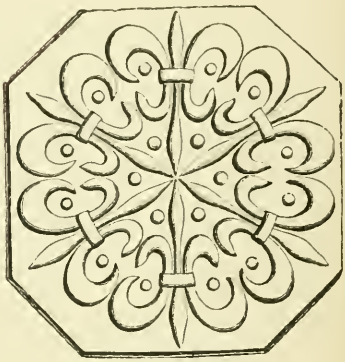


FIG. 15.

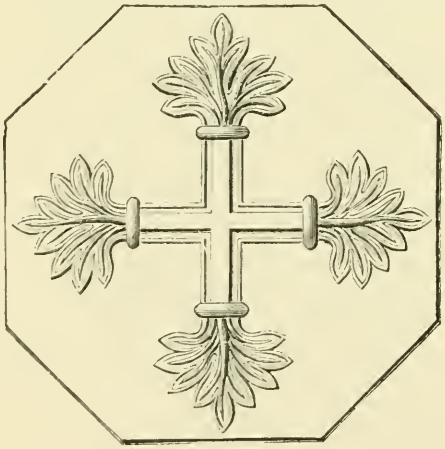


FIG. 16.

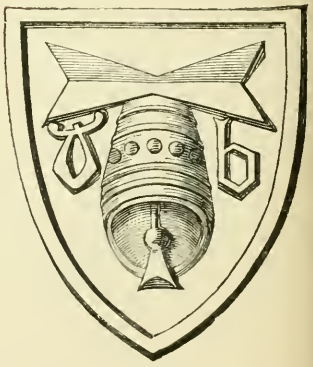


FIG. 17.

whereas the line makes it long. Indeed, there are divers forms of the inscription, and none absolutely correct. In one version, the third bell at Acton Scott, Shropshire, the line was for a St. John bell, for which some foundryman probably received a merited reprobation—

+ Eternis Annis Resonet Campana Maria.

This line often runs—

+ In Nuttis Annis Resonet Campana Johannis,

and on one bell Baptiste * is added. The Virgin Mary is sometimes named as the daughter of St. Anna, as in—

+ Celesti Manna · Tua Proles Nos Cibet Anna,

a Norwich inscription, and—

+ AX† ANA (*sic*) NATA SALVET NOS VIRGO BEATA

on the fourth bell at Kempston, Bedfordshire.

+ Intercede Pia Pro Nobis Virgo Maria,

in the "Burlingham" type, on the fifth at Halvergate, Norfolk, was found by me on the tenor at Stourpaine, Dorset, with the first word broken into In Ter Sede, whatever the words may have been intended to convey to the reader. Another hexameter, comprehensible, though not metrically faultless, is—

+ Virginis Egregie · Vocor Campana Marie,

so far as I know, used exclusively by the Norwich founders.

In + Sum Rosa Pulsata . Mundi Maria Vocata, the name of the Virgin Mary is sometimes taken by St. Katherine, whose

* The fourth at Buckhorn Weston, Dorset.

† A curious mistake for EX.

sufferings on the wheel immortalized her. Regarded, and rightly so, as the quintessence of suffering youth, beauty, innocence, and piety, it may be that the line originally bore her name. In one old English inscription the names will be found conjointly—

⊙ I : KATERYE · GODDES · DERLYNG · TO · THE · MARI · ,SHAL · I · SYGE.

This is on the fourth at Shapwick, Dorset, the initial being a rose, equally applicable to either saint.

+ Virgo Coronata · Duc Nos Ad Regna Beata

occurs on the tenor at Theddlethorpe, Lincolnshire, one of a group in "the parts called Lindsey," which bear a peculiar initial cross, and a shield with the initials R. O., the founder, and S. below, presumably his residence; also at Coton, near Cambridge, at Rendham, Wilby, and Little Stonham, Suffolk, with Bury marks; and at Brockdish, Norfolk, with the Norwich Brasyer shield; while at Quidenham, in the same county, it is in the "Burlingham" lettering.

In the ancient church of Saltfleetby St. Peter, Lincolnshire, now used as a cemetery chapel, Mr. North noted two bells of different make, but both dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The smaller one he was inclined to trace to Nottingham. The larger one, with a unique trade shield, has an inscription nearly identical with the seal of St. Mary's Abbey, York—

+ PVRA · PVDICA · PIA · MISERIS · MISERERE MARIA,

which is also on a bell at Breaston, Derbyshire. The York seal has VIRGO for the first word. At Market Weston, Suffolk, there is a defaced inscription, of which only the

words MISERIS · MISERERE remain, separated by the pot of Thomas Potter, of Norwich, already mentioned.

The Virgin Mary was an especial patroness of sailors, and her peculiar title in this respect as "Star of the Sea" is found, though not so frequently as some others, in the line—

+ Stella Maria Maris · Succurre piissima Nobis,

which has the merit of good scansion. One would have thought it most appropriate for ports or fishing villages. The localities known to me, however, are not maritime—Aldbourne and Mere, Wiltshire; Billesdon, Leicestershire; Holcombe, Somerset; Oxford Cathedral; and All Saints' Sudbury. There is an allusion to this belief in *The Third Part of the Sermon against Peril of Idolatry:* "and specially our Lady, to whom shipmen sing, *Ave, maris stella.*"

The dying words of our Saviour, commending His mother to the care of St. John, are brought to mind, though in an indirect way, in the inscription—

+ Sunt mea spes hii tres xpūs maria johēs,

which is frequently found in the West of England; and the watching of the Cross is alluded to in a unique double hexameter on the tenor at Bedale, Yorkshire—

JOU : EGO : CUM : FIAM : CRUCE : CUSTOS : LAUDO : MARIAM :
DIGNA : DEI : LAUDE : MATER : DIGNISSIMA : GAUDE

The first word appears to be an interjection.

Of the twelve Apostles, the brothers Simon Peter and Andrew have far the greatest number of dedications. Those which only give the name of John are, of course, doubtful, but some clearly indicate the Evangelist, as—

+ SIT : CUNCTIS : AMNIS : NOBIS : VIA : VITA : JOHIS,

at Frettenham, Norfolk, the allusion to St. John xiv. 6, being indubitable. The second bell at Grayingham, Lincolnshire, has a prose dedication—

+ ISTA : CAMPANA : SANCTI : IOHANNIS : EWANGELISTI

The Norwich founders used a Petrine hexameter, which seems exclusively theirs—

+ Petrus Ad Eterne · Ducat Nos Pascua Vite.

This is on some twenty bells in Norfolk and Suffolk, which are a kind of preserve for the Norwich men, only two of whose bells are found even in Cambridgeshire. Here the allusion is to the triple command, "Feed My sheep," "Feed My lambs," "Feed My sheep." The "Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" appear, of course, in every effigy of St. Peter, and on the second bell at St. Peter's, Claxby, Lincolnshire, is—

+ Nomĩe Petri Fero Qui Claviger Extat In Evo.

The usual Norwich inscription for a St. Andrew bell is—

+ Quesumus Andrea. Famulorum Suscipe Vota.

The early Fathers receive but little notice. A St. Clement is named on the second bell at Rowston, Lincolnshire, and "Ambrose" at Isham, in Northamptonshire, both in capitals. The former name revives in the Stuart period. But there is a well-known Augustine pentameter + Vox (more usually Wox) Augustini Sonet In Aure Dei, though we cannot determine whether the great theologian of Hippo or the Apostle of the Saxons is intended, both having their special days in the old calendar. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Jerome, are all passed over.

The case is altered when we come to the Noble Army of

Martyrs. Very prominent is the name of St. Katherine. As the wheel began to supplant the lever in the belfry, her name, inseparably bound up with it in martyrology, occurs more and more on the bells. On the second bell at Closworth, Somerset, where in later days there was a foundry, is—

+ HAC · CAMPANELLA COLICVR · KATERINA · PVELLA,

and in East Anglia we often find from the Norwich makers

+ Subveniat Digna · Donantibus Hanc Katerina.

This is useful philologically, showing the pronunciation *digna* rhyming with Katerina, as in our word *condign*. The foundrymen sometimes put *dingna*. At Desborough, Northamptonshire, is a riddle read by North—

+ Principio (?) sine dulces hic honor caterine,

and at Chickney, Essex,

+ Ad Celi Syna. Perducat Nos Katerina.

where *syna* may be for *signa*, "the bells of heaven." Another female martyr well known in our towers is St. Barbara, great in quelling storms. She generally appears with the simple ora pro nobis, but, as already quoted, at Colkirk, Norfolk, there is—

OCIDVS : CELI : FAC : BARBARA : CRISMINA : DELI.

This dedication appears twice at Stanton All Saints, Suffolk, the second,

+ Omartir · Barbara · Prome · Deum · Exora,

and the third—

+ Osidus · Celi · Fac · Barbara · Cremina · Deli.

Both are Bury bells. And in the same ("Burlingham") lettering at Colney, in the same county—

+ : O : VIRGO : BARBARA : PRO : NOBIS : DEVM : EXORA

Beheaded by her own father, Dioscorus, she was eminent among the sufferers of her time, and her name remains attached to December 4 in the Roman and Eastern Calendars, though by the early part of the sixteenth century it had been supplanted in the Sarum use by the local St. Osmund. Her father was struck by lightning directly after her martyrdom, and this was the reason of her intercession being begged in storms. To explain this, Aubrey writes—

"In times of thunder they invoke St. Barbara. So Sir Geof Chaucer, speaking of the great hostesse, her guests would cry St. Barbara when she let off her gun (ginne). They did ring the great bell at Malmsbury Abbey, called St. Adelm's Bell, to drive away thunder and lightning. The like is yet used of the abbey of St Germain's in Paris, where they ring the great bell then." *

At Stratford St. Andrew, Suffolk, was a bell, now recast, but with the inscription preserved in a rubbing—

+ Sancta · Bar · Bar · A · Ora · Pro · Nobis,

some facetious personage turning the name of the martyr into the well-known figure in logic. It was impossible to misspell her name. But that of another martyr, Apollonia, went through more phases than most. In fact, our fathers had a name Apoline, verily a name of all work, which served for the heathen god, the destroying angel, the Christian teacher, and the aged martyr. She is, I think, the *Apoline* of St. Botolph, Cambridge, from London, and

* Aubrey, f. 110, 2°, quoted in *Anecdotes and Traditions* (Camden Soc. Ed., Thoms), p. 86.

the *Sancte Oponia* of Darsham, Suffolk, from Bury. In Fressingfield church, in the same county, her figure remains on a bench end, her cheek resting on her hand, as though in remembrance of the battering out of her teeth before she was burnt.

At Raveningham, Norfolk, a rare invocation of St. Lucy remains—

+ CVCRIX · ESCO . PIA . M . SEPER VGO LVCIA.

Many more bells are dedicated to St. Margaret of Antioch in Pisidia. She is called *Marina* in the Greek Church, and a mixture of the two names, *Marineta*, is found on a black-letter bell at Pittington, Durham. The Norwich inscription for her bells is—

+ Fac Margareta . Nobis hec Munera Leta,

the meaning whereof was not clear till, on a happy occasion, in connection with a Dorset inscription of the Stuart period, it flashed upon me that the duties of a bell were very unpleasant, to be constantly hit by the hard clapper, and to be hanged like a criminal, and that the bell might well implore St. Margaret to make these duties pleasant. It is possible that the north-country folk adopted the *Marineta* version to distinguish the saint of Antioch from the canonized Scotch queen. The English queen, Etheldreda, whose name is bound up with Ely, appears at Morley St. Botolph and Feltwell St. Nicholas, Norfolk, in the hexameter—

+ Etheldreda Bona · Tibi Dantur Plurima Dona.

Whether St. Antony of Egypt or St. Antony of Padua is intended in inscriptions which only record the name must remain a question unsolved ; but, for my own part, I incline

to him of Padua, the kind friend of the brute creation, whose pigs, duly crotalized, had free travelling in London. The tenor at Hargrave, Northamptonshire, bears only S ANTONIE, but the second at Winthorpe, Lincolnshire, breaks into rhyme, but not into metre—

+ Antonius Monet · Ut Campana Bene Sonet.

The old second at Garboldisham, Norfolk, by William Schep of London, had on its shoulder AD LAVDEM SANCTI ANTONII. When it was recast I bought the crown, and I am happy still in the possession of it.

To judge by dedications of churches, the apostleship of St. Thomas was regarded as of less importance than the martyrdom of Thomas à Beket. The Madingley dedication has already been mentioned. A more astonishing, though less perplexing, line abounds in East Anglia—

+ Nos Thome Meritis · Mereamur Gaudia Lucis.

Similar powers were attributed to Edmund, King of the East Angles, martyred at Hoxne, and buried at St. Edmundsbury.

+ Meritis Edmundi · Simus A Crimine Mundi

is a Norwich inscription, rarely used, strange to say, at the Bury foundry.* At Pelham Stocking, Herts., is a bell dedicated to St. Vincent, the Spanish deacon who perished under Diocletian. One at St. Bartholomew the Less, Smithfield, is similarly inscribed—

+ Vincencius Reboat Vt Cuncta Noxia Tollat.

The syllable *re* suggested that the recasting gave the bell its

* As at Risby and Great Ashfield, Suffolk.

power of driving away hurtful things. Reference to classical examples will, however, show that there is nothing more in the prefix than in our "re-echo," etc.

St. Giles being the patron saint of blacksmiths, we generally come across the churches dedicated to him in the outskirts of big towns, where his devotees would be keeping a look-out for the wants of poor way-worn jades. Two bells dedicated to him with the inscription—

+ Sonitus Egidii · Ascendit in Culmina Celi

are in the village of Dickleburgh, Norfolk, and in St. Laurence's tower in the middle of Ipswich town.

St. Martin of Tours is not a favourite bell saint, but at Althorpe, Lincolnshire, the second bell bears his name and title—

+ Nomīe Martini Presulis Dant Parochiani,

while his name alone appears on the fifth at Wragby in the same county. At Ninfield, Sussex, the bell has a hexameter—

+ Hic · Est · Martinus · Quem · Salvet · Trinus · Et · Unus,

another instance of the impossibility of preserving simultaneously the rule of metre and the sound of rhyme.

St. Laurence has but few children of the steeple.

+ Ora · Laurenti · Bona · Campana · Paci,

whatever it may mean, is on the fourth bell, of Bury make, at Monks Eleigh, Suffolk. We may turn to Scotland for a grand story. At St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, the martyr of the gridiron was commemorated on the tenor, in popular talk, "Old Laurie." Unhappily, it was broken, but Blaikie and Sons, of Aberdeen, in 1883, used a piece of the old metal

to make a bell for Cults, Kincardineshire, which tells of its origin in the words, "I am a chip of Old Laurie." *

It is impossible to do more than give a sketch of the hagiology of bells; and, with regret for omissions, I turn to the commemoration of benefactors for a short space. It is a very natural feeling for a donor to wish himself remembered, and sometimes bearing himself the name of a saint, he would transfer it to the bell, as—

+ ASLAK · JOHES : JOHEM ME · NOIAVIT

on the bell at Crostwight, Norfolk. This donor died in 1434, leaving legacies to three conventual bell-towers, Bromholm, Wymondham, and Hickling. Perhaps he was a son or grandson of the Aslac, who is said to have been left, a foundling, at the church stile at Aslacton, and to have become standard-bearer to Edward III. There is a little excess of family pride in the third bell at Isleham, Cambridgeshire, where the angel Gabriel receives the detail of the transference of property from the Bernards to the Peytons—

: Sce : gabriel : ora · p · aiabs Johis bernard milit · et elene uxis suc : et thome · peyton · armigi : et margarete uxis suc : filie et hered : pdicto' Johis et : elene

And lest there should be any mistake, the invocation is accompanied by two shields, one of which bears the arms of John Bernard and his wife, in pale, and the other those of Thomas Peyton and Margaret (Bernard), his wife, also in pale. The sepulchral brasses, with armorial bearings, in Isleham church are well known. Should they have been stolen, the bell would have remained, a genealogical memorial. When our patriarch Ellacombe was writing his

* Tyack, *A Book about Bells*, p. 56.

Church Bells of Devon he noted the tenor at Talaton as the most beautiful bell in the county, and bestowed the same distinction on one of a like character at Bradford, Somerset. The letters are certainly elegant, but the chief ornament is the impression of the seal of Joan de Beauchamp, Lady (Domina) of Bergavenny, which has come out gloriously. In the shield, which occupies the centre of the seal, Beauchamp, with a crescent for difference, is in pale with Fitz-Alan and Warren, quarterly. In some foundries the great efforts in design were reserved for the capital letters. In this respect Norwich was eminent. No one can fail to admire alike the symmetry of the alphabet and the pretty floral decorations which fill the corners and the spaces inside the letters. Some of these beautiful characters appear to have come down from one Richard Baxter, yet most may be assigned to the two Richard Brasyers, father and son, whose operations range from about the middle of the reign of Henry VI. to the opening of that of Henry VIII. The portrait of a bearded bishop fills the letter ꝓ. It may be the energetic William Alnwick, afterwards translated to Lincoln, or Bishop Lyhart, or Goldwell.

With this lettering, of which instances are here given, appear the initial cross (Fig. 24), the rhyme-stop (Fig. 25), foundry-shields (Figs. 26, 27), and a few other marks.

Comparisons are proverbially odious, yet sometimes not to be avoided. The Norwich letters, with all their beauty, are not on a par with those from some unknown foundry in North Lincolnshire, if we may judge from their locality. There are eleven of them thereabouts, and one has been found at Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts. We owe their appearance to the diligence of the late Mr. J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, under whose direction the casts were made, and to the munificence

FIG. 18.

FIG. 19.

FIG. 20.

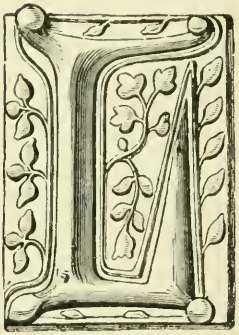


FIG. 21.

FIG. 22.

FIG. 23.

of Lord Amherst of Hackney, who had the engravings executed by the late Mr. Orlando Jewitt. The most notable

Fig. 24.

Fig. 25.

letter is M, which contains in one branch a warrior armed, and in the other a lady, presumably his wife, and the O with a

Fig. 26.

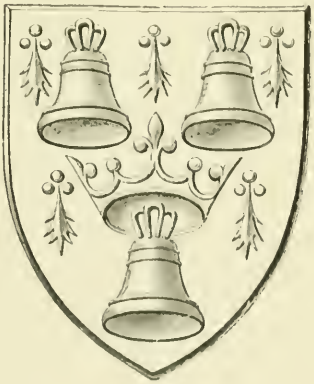


Fig. 27.

Bishop's head, close shaven, and of resolute expression, perhaps Bishop Fleming, who presided over the Diocese of

Lincoln from 1420 to 1431. The date, 1423, which is on two of the South Somercotes three, would suit this conjecture of mine. I shall never forget my first lighting on them at Somersby,* fifty years ago, like Keats—

> "Then felt I like some watcher of the skies,
> When a new planet swims into his ken."

Two later Lincolnshire bells, Beesby tenor and Gunby second, bear in small capitals the inscriptions—

+ HEC · PRO · LAVDE · PIE · RESONAT · CAMPANA · MARIE,

and

+ DVLCIS · SITO (*sic*) MELIS VOCOR · CAMPANA · GABRIELIS

which I should not record here but for the fact that the founder had broken up the fine capitals of the group just mentioned and used scraps of them as word-stops. For this purpose we find amongst others the mangled remains of the episcopal head from O, and the lion from C. What could have given rise to this barbarous treatment is a mystery.

Funereal uses of bells became more and more elaborate, and a new machinery, that of the carillon, is certainly a recognized thing in the middle of the fifteenth century. No better example of the Trental or Thirty Days' Commemoration can be found than in the will of John Baret, of Bury St. Edmund's, who died in 1463, and was buried in St. Mary's Church in that town. It is printed *in extenso* in Tymms's *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Archdeaconry of Sudbury.*†

* Alfred Tennyson's native place.

† Pages 17 *et seq.*

The testator's epitaph is indicative of a truly noble and pious soul—

John "He that will sadly behold me with his ie Baret.
May see his own merowr and lerne to die.
Wrappid in a schete, as a full rewli wretche,
No mor of al my minde to me ward will streche,
From erthe I kam and on to erthe I am brought,
This is my natur; for of erthe I was wrought.
Thus erthe on to erthe tendeth to knet,
So endeth ech creature; doeth John Baret.
Wherefore ye pepil in waye of charitie
With your good prayers I pray ye help me.
For such as I am; right so shalle ye al bi.
Now God on my sowle: have merci and pitie."
AMEN.

To remind his fellow townsfolk of the matter of these last lines, he directs his executors—

"It' I wele the ij bellemen haue ij gownys and be ij of ye fyve to hold torches, and ij pence, and here mete, and ye Sexteyn of ye chirche to haue brede and drynkke, and xij*d* for his rynggyng and his mete."

This was at his burial. Then, for its anniversary—

"Itm I wil that the belle meen have iiij*d* to go yeerly abowte the town at my yeerday for my soule and for my faderis and modrys. Itm I wil that the Sexteyn of Seynt Marie chirche have at my yeerday xij*d* so he rynge wil and fynde bread and ale to his ffelashippe, and eche yeer what tyme my yeerday fallyth that at twelve of the clokke at noon next be forn my dirige he do the chymes smythe Requiem eternam, and so to contynwe seuene nyght aftir till the Vtas * of my yeerday be passyd, and euē † al lenton Requiem eternam, and in lykvyse such day as God disposith for me to passe I wil the seid chymes smyth forthwith Requiem eternam and so day

* Octaves. † The short Requiem

and nyth to cotynwe with the same song tyl my xxx^{ti} day be past for me and for my friends that holpe therto with ony goods of here. Itm I wil yeve and be gwethe yeerly to the Sexteyn of Saint Marie chirche viij*s* to kepe the clokke, take hede to the chymes, wynde vp the pegs and the plummys as ofte as nede is, so that the said chymes fayle not to goo through the defawte of the seid sexteyn who so be for the tyme, and yif he wil not take it vpon hym the owner of my hefd place, the parysh preest and the Seynt Marie preest to chese oon of the parysh such as wil do it for the same money, tyl such a sexteyn be in the office that will undertake to do it and to cōtynwe, for I wolde the sexteyn hadde it be fore a nothir, for his wages be but smale, so he wil vndirtake to do it and not fayle. . . . Itm I will the seid Seynt Marie preest and his successours haue yeerly iij*s* iiij*d* delyu'yd to hym by the owner of my hefd [place] to the rep'acōn of the chymes as wel tho that been in Seynt Marie stepill as tho that been at Seynt Marie awt̄, and if there nede no rep'acōn to neyther of the seid chymes thanne the seid Marie preest to have the seyd iij*s* iiij*d* to the avmentacōn of his lifloode, but as ofte as rep'acōn nedith to eyther of the seid chymes I wil the said iij*s* iiij*d* go thereto or part thereof as the case requireth, and if grettere cost be doo the seid Seynt Marie preest paye more, and if grettere nede be, who so euere be ocupyere of my hefd place to be contributarye therto what so eue^{r} it coste, for my wil is that the chymes shall neuer fayle for defawte of helpe, though certeyn lond of mȳ be bowunde or assigned outh, therefore be my executours both for y^{t} and the sexteyn̄ vagys be the syde the bond of them that shal be the ocupyers of myn lond and my place to fulfille my wil, as is be fore wretyn . . . and the seid chymes to goo also at the avees, at the complyn̄ eche Satirday Sunday and hooly day thourgh out the yere—and Seynt Marie preest to haue a keye of my cost of the vys dore goyng up to the candilbeem, the same keye to be leid in an almarye with other longyng to the chymis as many keyes as p'teyne to the seide werke."

From this will it is quite clear that carillons were no strangers to England at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The sufferings of nervous persons at John Baret's

Trental (xxx^{ti} day) must have been acute. Through the kindness of Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, F.S.A., I was able to give the *Requiem Eternam* music in my *Church Bells of Suffolk*. It extends over five notes only. Happily for the townsfolk of Bury, all the testators in that historic borough were not so bound to the chime-barrel as was John Baret. One John Coote, perhaps worn out with Trental carillon, "will neyther ryngyn nor belman goynge," but his almsgivings and dinners on his Thirty-day "to be don in secret manner." John Baret, it will be observed, gives the "Sexteyn of St. Marie chirche" the option of the office with regard to his "memory" bells, but enjoins that by some one or other his wish may be carried out.

At the end of the fifteenth century the municipal authority at Coventry took upon itself the regulation of such charges, as may be seen by an Order of Leet in that city in 1496—

"Yt is ordeyned at y'is p'esent lete that all mañ p'sones thatt hereaftur will have the belles to ryng after ye decease of eny their frends, they shall pay for a bell ryngyng w't all ye belles ij*s*, xx*d* y' of to ye chircheward and iiij*d* to ye clerks. And yf he well have but iiij belles xvj*d*, xij to ye Church, and iiij to ye clerks. And as for iij belles, ev'y p'son y't well have theym, to paye but iiij to the clerks." *

Here may be observed the same feeling displayed by John Baret, that the workman was worthy of his hire.

We learn from Bishop Hooper's *Injunctions* † that the death-bell was called a knell, or forthfare. This is forbidden, evidently as encouraging prayers for the dead. The practice, however, has survived, and is almost universal at the

* *Notes and Queries*, Series III. ix. 428, quoted by Ellacombe, *Bells of the Church*, p. 464.

† Parker Society Edition, p. 137.

present day, the "tellers" at the end of the hour being constantly observed in one form or another. The variations in this respect have been recorded by the authors of the histories of the bells of most counties which have been completed, but I am sorry to say that they have been omitted by me in my *Suffolk* and *Cambridgeshire*. One thing, however, I may record: my late sexton at Fressingfield, Henry Edward Barber, told me that once during his tenure of office he was required to toll three hours for a death, and an hour a day between death and burial. This was in the year 1856.

CHAPTER X

EARLY FOUNDRIES—LONDON AND THE SOUTH-WEST

SEVERAL metropolitan founders of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have received mention in Chapter VI. While Stahlschmidt was engaged on his *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders*, the patriarch Alwoldus came to light, designated as *campanarius*. The date *c.* 1150 was assigned to him, but nothing more can be said of him at present. After Benedit le Seynter and John of Amiens, *campanarii*, who follow him in Stahlschmidt's list, comes a long series of *ollarii*, among whom are noticeable, in 1303, a west-countryman, Thomas de Bykenore, and one Geoffrey, probably identical with Geoffrey, of Edelmeton, now Edmonton, who names himself with a Cockney aspirate on a bell at Billericay, inscribed—

+ GALFRIDUS : DE : HEDELMTUN : ME : FECIT.

The will of Robert Lorchon, dated 1311, as it stands,* is remarkable for two mistakes, due more likely to the nineteenth-century compositor than to the fourteenth-century scribe—*animalibus* for *animabus*, and *reueneratur* for *reuertatur*. He describes his tenement "cum celar' solario gardino

* Pages 11, 12.

braschambre cum shopa," etc. The "brass-chamber" is a very expressive term, which is not found elsewhere. John Romeneye, who may have been a son of one of the same name, *bladarius*, or corn merchant, his surname savouring of the great Kent marsh, is thought to be distinguished by a capital R. He endowed in St. Botolph, Aldgate, a *capellanus* to serve in a *cantaria* or chantry there, which was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI.

Stahlschmidt notes a strange coincidence of name in a witness to the wills of two founders, Peter de Weston and William de Raughton, named Roger de Kyrkeby, *ollarius*, and the name on a bell at Gainford, near Darlington, inscribed—

HELP MARI QVOD ROGER OF KIRKEBY.

This north-countryman was vicar of Gainford from 1401 to 1412, and may have been a son or grandson of his namesake half a century earlier.

William Foundor was for some time a great riddle, but the mystery was solved by Stahlschmidt through some deeds about London property belonging to the Cornwallis family, which Mr. Walter Rye kindly allowed him to examine. Two, dated respectively 1392 and 1395, relating to the same premises, were executed in the presence of four witnesses. One of these in the earlier deed is "William Dawe Found^r," and in the later one "William Found^r." There can be hardly a question of their identity. In the same ward, and at the same time, there was another William Dawe, a "white tawyer," or tanner of white leather. A circular stamp well known all over the country bears two birds, doubtless intended for daws, surrounded by the words, + William · ffoundor · me · fecit. This is frequently found with a business

shield—a chevron between three lavers (Fig. 28)—and an armorial shield—a chevron between three trefoils slipped (Fig. 29)—the arms of Rufford, Underhill, Fitz-Lewes, and

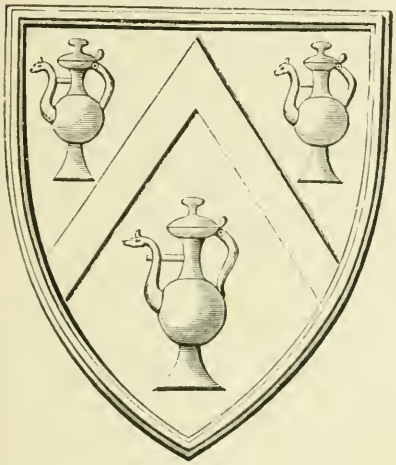


Fig. 28.

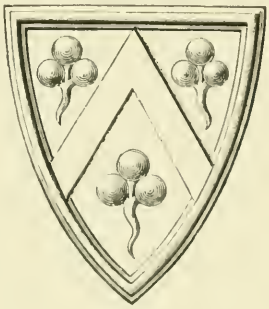


Fig. 29.

other families. At Finchley, Middlesex, the lavers shield occurs, with the inscription—

BEATVS VENTER QVI TE PORTAVIT

(St. Luke xi. 27), and at Colchester Castle with

+ Thomas Marie Sonat In Ethere Clare

I venture to suggest Care as the missing word, bad as the grammar is. In 1385 this William the Founder rendered important national service. A short truce with the French had come to an end, and a general attack on English territory had been planned by the counsellors of the young King Charles VI. This scheme became known,

with the natural result of a widespread scare, and the raising of 300,000 men, chiefly for the defence of the south coast. Guns had been already mounted at Calais, under Sir Hugh Calverley, the governor. They were, of course, required for Dover, and in the Issue Rolls of 1385 (May 1) the name of William the Founder appears: "To Sir Simon de Burley, Knight, Constable of Dover Castle, for the price of 12 guns, 2 iron patella, 120 stones for the guns, 100 lbs. of powder, and 4 stocks of wood, purchased of William the founder, of London, and delivered to the said Simon by the hands of William Hanney, Clerk, for fortifying and strengthening Dover Castle, £97 10*s*." * Now in *Baker's Chronicle*† we read that in the five and thirtieth year of Henry VIII. "the first cast Pieces of Iron that ever were made in England were made at *Buckstead* in *Sussex* by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bawde;*" but surely these 1385 transactions show that Baker must have been misinformed. The county of Kent appears to show some traces of this year. It contains four bells only which bear the "birds" stamp. Of these, two at Downe are on the road from London to Dover; one at Upper Hardres is about four miles off the road, and one at Otham is close by Maidstone. The last glimpse of William Founder comes from the will of John Plot, or Rouwenhale, citizen and maltman of London, dated 1408. After many charitable legacies is this: "Also my wyll ys that John Walgrave, seruaunt of Wyllyam fondour haue of my gode iij*s* iiij*d*." To this Walgrave are ascribed bells marked with W. under a rather singular cross, with what seems meant for i by the side of it. It is all over England. Mr. Owen found two at Downham, in North Lancashire, and three in

* *Surrey Bells and London Founders*, p. 45.

† Small folio edition, p. 298.

Huntingdonshire ;* Mr. Cocks, four in Buckinghamshire.† There are nine in Kent, and some fifty years and more ago I found two at Fordington, close by Dorchester.

The "ring and cross" stamp (Fig. 30) was used by one Richard Hille, according to evidence adduced by Stahlschmidt.‡ His operations lasted some twenty years. He died in 1440, leaving a widow, Joan, and a daughter, Joan. The former—

> "Resigned to Heaven's will,
> Carried on the business still,"

was remarried to a foundry worker, John Sturdy, survived him, and was doing business in Faversham in 1459. The daughter married Henry Jordan, or Jurden, whose shield, like Walgrave's, is all over the country. It displays a strange union of objects. The principal charge is crossed keys, above a dolphin, below a laver, on the right a garb, or wheatsheaf, on the left a bell (Fig. 31) ; on his bells are often found Figs. 32 and 33.

Here we have a suggestion that the bearer of this "ensign" was at once founder and fishmonger, the bell and laver indicating the former, the dolphin and keys the latter. The wheatsheaf or garb turns out to be part of the arms of the family of Harleton, from which Jordan was descended. In All Saints' Church, Loughborough, is a battered brass to the memory of Giles Jordan, late ffischmong of London Fundour, and Margaret his wife, apparently with the date 1455. In Henry Jordan's will his father and mother bear the same names, but St. Botolph, Aldgate, is named as their resting-place, the testator directing that "ij tapers of wex" should

* *Church Bells of Huntingdonshire*, p. 12.
† *Church Bells of Buckinghamshire*, p. 31.
‡ *Church Bells of Kent*, p. 35.

burn beside his own tomb and his wife's, and one should "stand on the middes of the stone there as the bodies of my father and mod^r there lien buried." A like arrangement is

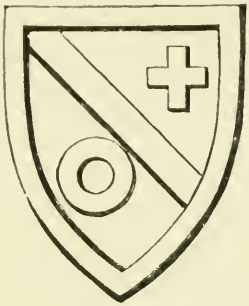


FIG. 30.

FIG. 31.

made for his father-in-law and mother-in-law, Richard Hille and his wife Joan, afterwards Sturdy. The Loughborough

FIG. 32.

FIG. 33.

stone had formerly on it the arms of Jordan and Harleton, quarterly. At present this double burial is an unsolved problem. For the sad story revealed in Henry Jordan's will,

dated 1468, I must refer my readers to my *Church Bells of Suffolk.** Shortly before his death he was engaged in a great work for the Provost and Fellows of King's College, Cambridge, who paid him in four instalments the sum of £40 for the bells. Dr. J. Willis Clark, Registrary of the University, contributed a most valuable paper † on this subject to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with a sketch of the inscriptions taken from the bells before their sale in 1756. From this evidence we may safely infer that the largest of these five bells, which used to hang in a clochard on the south side of the chapel, was Jordan's work. It must have weighed 2 tons 6 cwt. 2 qrs. 7 lbs.

The last of the metropolitan founders of the Plantagenet period for whom I can find room is John Kebyll, whose shield bears a chevron, with three mullets in chief and a crescent in base, all inverted. This inversion may arise from a heraldic quarrel. He seems to belong to the latter part of the fifteenth century. Sir Henry Kebyll, citizen and grocer, Lord Mayor in 1510, is credited in Wright's Heylin with a similar shield, only without the crescent, and John Keble, the venerated author of *The Christian Year*, followed this form, retained now by Keble College, Oxford. I had looked on this shield times without number without seeing that a riddle was meant. Turn it on its side, and the horizontal bar under the mullets, conjoined with the chevron, form a K, while the crescent suggests E (Fig. 34). He often places on his bells emblems of the four evangelists (Figs. 35, 36, 37, 38).

William Culverden belongs to the days of Henry VIII., but is closely united to his predecessors. His beautiful rebus (Fig. 39) is sure to be admired, the dove with dē over it signifying Culverden. Mr. Eeles found him at Tough, Aberdeenshire.

* Page 31. † No. 223, etc.

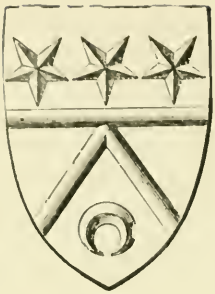


Fig. 34.

Fig. 35.

Fig. 36.

Fig. 37.

Fig. 38.

Fig. 39.

Steeple, Dorset; Ubbeston, Suffolk; Kingstone, Staffordshire; Wimbledon, Surrey, know him. Seven of his bells have already been found in Essex, and four in Middlesex. At Kencote, Oxfordshire, there are two, one with a long inscription on the waist about William Weston, mercer, of London.

Next to London in importance came Bristol. There is a group of bells in Devon, Somerset, and Gloucestershire bearing a ship, with some slight differences in detail and not always of the same size, yet with a strong general resemblance, conjoined sometimes with an uplifted right hand, and sometimes with crowns of various shape, all of them pointing to the same source. Locality and marks unite in tracing them to the great port of the west, and it seems strange that with its widespread influence in commerce we cannot find the ship save in the three counties named. In Devon the Sheepwash bell has been recast, and only the Yarnscombe tenor remains, but this is a valuable relic, bearing with the ship the small laver shield used by William Dawe. Somerset had lately a navy of ten; Gloucestershire of six or seven; and at Langton Matravers, Dorset; Cherthill, Wilts; Llanelly, Brecknock, the ship is still afloat. There are others connected with these by crowns, etc., and all are inscribed in capitals. There was a John Gosselin casting bells at Bristol from 1449 to 1453, and a John Founder about the same time.* At Yatton, Somerset, there is some light thrown on Bristol by means of the parish accounts, Hew the bellman, of Redecleve, Brystow, being paid iiij^{li} iiij^{s} in 1451. Another group embraces, amongst others, the tenor of the three at Loxton, Somerset, two in Gloucestershire, one in Berks, and at a great distance from its fellows the fourth bell in the secluded village of Wissett, in East Suffolk. Mr.

* Bickley's *Little Red Book*.

Walters tells me that he has collected eighteen examples of this type. Closely allied with them are the second at Leyton, Essex, a bell at Bradfield, Sussex, and the third and fourth at Shapwick, Dorset. The character of the capitals which are used in inscriptions without the small letters is very impressive, though of a later date. These last-named bells appear to show connection with Dawe's foundry. All of the two sets mentioned have the wheel stop of St. Katherine, to whom the Shapwick tenor is dedicated in the unique couplet already quoted—

+ £ · KATERYE · GODDES · DERLYNG
TO · THE · MARI · SHAL · I · SYG.

The third is dedicated to St. Christopher, use being made of two lines from a well-known Latin hymn to that saint—

ILLO NEMPE * DIE NULLO LANGORE GRAVETUR
CRISTOFORI SANCTI CAMPANAM * QUICUMQUE TUETUR.

The belief was that whosoever in haytime and harvest looked at the picture of St. Christopher had strength given him for the day. The line is metrically spoilt by the bellfounder's adaptation. Wheels were now taking the place of simple levers, and this may account for the frequent recurrence of the Heroine of the Wheel.

From Bristol there is a natural journey to Gloucester, where, with an interval after the days of Alexander and John of Gloucester, the name of Robert Handley, founder, is on the fourth bell at St. Nicholas. Ellacombe's account of the inscription on p. 4 of his book differs from that in the list of churches. Collating the two, with preference for the latter, I gather that it runs—

* *Namque* and *speciem* in the hymn.

+ SANCTE : IO : BAN : NES : BAP : TIS : TA : ORA :
PRO : NOBIS + TEMPORE : CLEMENTIS : LICHFIELD :
SACRISTE : ROBERTVS : HANDLEI : MAGDALENE : +
FECIT : ME : IN : HONORE : MARIE :

Now, the cross, as well as a crown and a stop used, are mentioned as very common in Gloucestershire, and though Lichfield suggests its own county, I cannot find them in Lynam's engravings of Staffordshire stamps. My conclusion is that Robert Handley hailed from Hanley, in Staffordshire, a modern town, but in an old pottery district, and that the sacrist Clement introduced him or encouraged him in some way in the city and neighbourhood. Unfortunately, we know nothing of Clement of Lichfield, and can only assign a date about 1400 for this group. William Henshawe, bellfounder, was sheriff of the city in 1496 and 1501, and mayor in 1503, 1508, and 1509. A mutilated brass in St. Michael's Church remains to his memory, and that of his two wives, Alys and Agnes. Indents remain for the devices of a bell and a three-legged pot. It seems as though the mediæval foundry was in that parish, for Richard Atkyns, whose will is dated December 28, 1529, and was proved February 17, 1530, is described as "Belfounder, of the town of Gloucester, in the parish of St. Mighell." * He bears in mind Worcester, Prestbury, and Dudley among his bequests, and leaves brass pots of various capacity, as well as platters and "potyngers" among his legatees. His executor was his brother "Sr. Willm." There was another brother, Thomas. A century and a half afterwards the master of the Ancient Society of Ringers, at St. Stephen's, Bristol, bore the same name.† It will be long before the mention of another Gloucester founder.

* Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Gloucestershire*, p. 118. † Page 91.

At Salisbury there was a well-established foundry for bells, pots, and probably mortars and other similar articles, in the fourteenth century. This is shown by the will of John Barbor, brasier, of New Sarum, dated 1403, kindly put into my hands by Dr. Amherst D. Tyssen, whose *Church Bells of Sussex*, in 1864, headed the list of completed counties. It is expressed in language which cannot fail to give an idea of the high character of the testator: "Debita meditatione perpendens quod humane nature debilis conditio in hac valle miserie posita tot & tantis subjacentibus periclis et crumpnis maxime quod nichil morte certius & nichil incertius, quod velit nolit oportet quemlibet ingredi vias ejus." He directs his body to be buried in St. Edmund's Church, "coram sede mea ibidem" (showing that the pew system is earlier than the Stuart period), leaves legacies to the cathedral and other churches, the Black Friars at Fisherton, and others. John Peccham is to have his pair of bellows ("ij biluwes") and two hundredweight of new brass pots, and Humphrey the founder ("Omfridus Funder") ten shillings' worth of new brass pots. Peter Brasier is to have "omnia instrumenta mea & omnes mensuras artificio meo pertinentes," also "togam meam optimam." John Gooselyn is to be forgiven a debt of iiij^{li} xj^{s}. Barbor's messuage was in Wynchestrestret, with Thomas Knoell's house on the north, and Melmongerstret on the west. We cannot with surety point to any bells made by John Barbor or his legatees. In 1474 Richard Brasiere gave viij*s*. towards the great bell at St. Edmund's, where twenty years afterwards there was paid "Henrico Penker pro effusione x^{c} de belle bras pro secunda parua Campana . . . facienda vj^{s} viij^{d} cum solucione eidem Henrico pro iij^{xx} vij^{li} . . . empt' de eodem Hō p' c' libre iiij^{d} . . . iiij^{li} vj^{s} iiij^{d}."

This bell was cast in Sarum, for twopence was paid for this privilege.

A more unlikely situation for a bell foundry, as things now stand, than Ash (anciently Aish) Priors, Somerset, could hardly be found, nor does the tiny village of the present day seem to have dwindled down from a business resort. Ecclesiastical influence may account for the operations of Roger Semson of that parish in his early days. I mention him in this chapter rather from his lettering, etc., than from his period, for his work extended into the reign of Queen Mary. The accounts of Woodbury parish, Devon, taken from Appendix G to Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Devon*, give a picture of the time. The churchwarden on horseback was in command of the company of "carriers" who set out from Woodbury on a Sunday with nine oxen to draw the burden of the old bells. Their first day's journey was to Larksbere, where five men were accommodated; but at Milverton next day the number was increased to nine. Thence by Halse they reached Aish Priors in time for "denar," stayed there a day, and returned by the same route. "Roger Symsonne" (as his name is spelt in the accounts), "the belluter," received "in pte of payment of a more some x^{li}," and in the following year two sums of v^{li} and one of iij^{li} xviij^{s} ij^{d}. His bells are often marked R. S., and on a bell at Luppit, Devon, it occurs backwards (ROSMES REGOR EM IB). As Semson, then, is his own version of his name, I take it in preference to the version of the Woodbury scribe. His lettering and initial cross, an elaborate one in an octagon, I squeezed from a bell which stood on the floor of St. David's Cathedral in 1878, and I have the cast over a bookcase. The inscription is—

+ SO LI DE O BO NOR ET GLO RIA,

the motto of King Henry V. after Agincourt, and as Lyndewode the canonist, who was present, became Bishop of St. David's, the bell may be referred to his episcopate. Thus the marks are much older than Semson's days.

I regret that I have no further information to give about this secluded foundry. The inversions of words and letters, and the break up of words, show that the head of the foundry was not a literary character, but as a craftsman he has won a very good word from Ellacombe, who calls him an "illiterate but first-class bellfounder." *

Just after the completion of the inscriptions in Dorset, thanks to the energy of their Field Club and its secretary, the Rev. W. Miles Barnes, Dr. Tyssen discovered the will of Richard Braszotter, Shafton (*i.e.* Shaftesbury), in Somerset House (18 Rous), dated 1449. It was well, indeed, that there was a foundry within the county boundaries, for roads were few, and ports insignificant. "Lyme Regis," says Camden, "can scarcely be reputed a seaport town or haven." Bridport he passes over with hardly a word of notice; while Bishop Gibson mentions its being barred with sand. Melcombe was a port till its privileges were taken away by Act of Parliament in 2 Henry VI., though afterwards recovered. As Poole in 14 Edward III. returned two burgesses to Parliament, it may have possessed some little importance, but Parliamentary representation in those days was rather inflicted on little boroughs than desired by them.†

Yet on the strength of the inscription on the tenor at Wimborne Minster, one fine bell, at any rate, may be assigned to Dorset in the Plantagenet period. When Anthony Bond in 1629 recast this great tenor, placing

* *Church Bells of Devon*, p. 30.

† My paper in their *Proceedings*, vol. xxiv.

on it his monogram, the inscription, which remains to this day, was—

> MR. WILHEMVS LORINGE ME PRIMO FECIT IN HONOREM STÆ CVTBERGÆ. RENOVABAR SVMPTV PAROCHIALI PER AB ANNO DOMINI 1629.

and after the names of the churchwardens, and initials, probably those of the three priests of the Minster, is a shield bearing a chevron and three mullets. It is remarkable that this bell appears to have been cast with a flat crown. Mr. William Loringe was one of the canons of Wimborne Minster in the early part of the reign of Richard II. His handiwork therefore lasted some 240 years, and after that the care of the renovators in the reign of Charles I. preserved the name of the foundress of the Nunnery, the sister of Ina, King of Wessex, married to and divorced from Osred, King of Northumbria, Saint Cuthberga.

At Exeter one Robert Norton seems to have carried on an extensive business. He had a larger and a smaller stamp, square, and containing within a twisted circle his initials, r n. Twenty bells in Devonshire bear one of these stamps, and others can be associated with these by means of the initial cross, and there is a remarkable hexameter which, so far as we know, is to be read only on his bells—

> + Misteriis sacris repleat nos dēa (dicta) johannis.

Ellacombe records a few in Somerset, and Walters in Gloucester. The cross used by him is found by Dunkin in Cornwall, but as it was also used by another founder, who had a similar, though not identical, bell in a twisted circle with the initials i t, it is hard to assign those bearing it to

Robert Norton. At Broadwinsor, Dorset, the r ii mark is on the fifth bell. His bells are reported as excellent in quality, but the word *craft* has, unfortunately, to be taken in two senses in his case. The *malus sensus* is shown in Chancery proceedings in the reign of Henry VI., when the office of Lord High Chancellor was held by John Stafford, who was Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1425–1443, when he was translated to Canterbury. He became Lord Chancellor in 1431–1432, and the following petition is presumably in the earliest days of his tenure of that office :—

"To the right worshipfull fader in God, the Bishopp of Bathe, Chancellor of England.

"Beseechith mekely the pore parshenes of Plymptre in Devenshere, that where as they by John Forde one of the same parisshe bought of one Robert Norton of Exeter Bellmaker iij Bellys to paye for evry c^li^ of the wight of the metal ther of xxvij^s^ there the said John and Robert by ontrewe ymagynacion coneyn and disseit en formed the said paryshenes that the said bellys were of the wight of ij mill. ccc iiij ij li wher as indede thay weyyd but xviij^c^ li so that the said parishenes have paid ther fore the said Robert by the handys of the said John accordant to ther said ontrewe enformacion that ys to sayng for c iiij ij li of metall more than the said Bellys weyn to the grete hendryng of the said parishenes wher of they may have no remedy by the comyn lawe : plese it your gracious lordship to compel and to make the said John and Robert to apere by fore yowe at a c'tain day by yowe to be alymyted to answere to the said mater and to do right ther of after yo'r high discrestion for the love of God and in the work of charite." *

How the petition succeeded we know not ; but the good folk of Plymptree were making a complaint which could be easily substantiated or disproved, and the addition of 582 lbs. to an existing 1800 is hard upon a third of the true sum.

* Ellacombe, *Church Bells of Devon*, p. 46.

And under this cloud we must leave the Exeter foundry, turning back to those in Berkshire, namely at Wokingham and Reading. To the former may be allotted a considerable number of bells, chiefly in Berkshire and the adjoining counties, the most distant from their origin known to me being two in Cambridgeshire, the second at Caldecote, and the old bell at Tadlow, which, from the bungle of the marks, is conjectural. The Caldecote bell is ornamented with what we think to be the earlier lion's head, there being two exceedingly unsightly heads with tongues unusually protruding; the other head might belong to divers animals. Where and when the business started we cannot say: suffice it that through the labours of Dr. J. W. Clark * we find a Wokingham man working for Eton College in 1448. His name was Roger Landen, his foundry shield a bell with R. L. on each side of it, and a W for Wokingham below. The bells which have not this shield, but other points of agreement, are supposed to be previous to his time. Like the other founders of the time, he dealt in other things besides bells. In the case of Eton the articles were chimney-pots. The item is, "Et solut. xxij die Marcii Rogero Landen de Wokingham loc ad fundendum xviij lb metalli enei pro fumi vectoriis de metallo regis. . . . et eidem pro metallo et fusione xij lb metalli enei de metallo suo proprio vij*s*." The lions' heads have often a great W with them, perhaps the Christian name of an earlier founder. This I found with the later lion on the fifth bell at Bloxham, Oxfordshire, in black letter, but with the same crowned capitals as in other instances, *e.g.* the tenor † at Dorchester in the same county, dedicated to the first Bishop of Dorchester, Birinus:—

+ PROTEGE · BIRINE · QVOS · CONVOCO · CV SIRE · FIRE.

* *Cambridge*, i. 405.

† Cocks, *Church Bells of Bucks.*, p. 49.

In this case the date is fixed by the name Raf Rashoold, which follows the inscription, Mr. Cocks having arrived at the date of his death in June, 1383, from the *Inquisitiones post mortem* in the Record Office. He regards the older lion as ending with Roger Landen. Nearly forty years after Roger's chimney-pots were cast for Eton College, one John Michell "de Woking^{m}," appears in the Corporation Records of Henley as casting the great bell for that town in 1493, for which he was paid ix^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}.* This date corresponds very fairly with the Churchwardens' Accounts of Thame, 1487–8. They are a charming bilingual record. When the scribe's Latinity failed him, as it well might, he turns to his dear mother tongue, as "It: sol: le bellemaker in ernyste *p* factur sc̄de campane in festo visitacōis bē marie eodem anno iij*s* iiij*d* ob;" and "It: sol: ad le bellemaker de Okyngham p. le castyng scde campanede p'dict. . . . xvj*s* viij*d*. It: sol: *p* cariand: eiusd^{m} campane apud Okyngham & homward agen in expens, . . . iij*s* iiij*d*." The *d* in "cariand" is etymologically important, the relic of the old participial termination, which it fell to my lot once to hear, in conversation with a very aged woman. This bell of Mitchell's did not last long. Extracts from the Thame accounts, transcribed by Dr. A. D. Tyssen and Mr. E. J. Payne, Recorder of Wycombe, are printed in Mr. Cocks's book, and thus well preserved, for the original book has disappeared. By this time (1494–5) the foundry had been removed to Reading, but it must have been a very recent removal, because the horsemen sent from Thame on this business went first to "Wokyngham," and apparently returned *re infecta*. Then they (Nicholas Bunse and Thomas Hill) rode to "Hendeley super Thameseam." They were paid xx*d* for their first journey and viij*d* for the

* Page 56.

second. In the interim Nicholas Bunse seems to have had enough of it, John Cocks accompanying Hill to Reading. They had xij*d* for their double journey. There the work was carried out by William Hasylwood, whose initials are found on bells in the neighbourhood. His will was proved December 10, 1509, and the accounts of St. Laurence's, Reading, give the funeral items, and in the year following his death xij*d* "for the greate Bell at Hasylwod's mind." He left a son John to succeed him, but no bell made by him has been discovered. Mr. Cocks assigns the W of which I have spoken, with the later lion, to John White, who is regarded as having been foreman to the younger Hasylwood, and afterwards head of the foundry. He brings the history down to the end of the period with which this chapter deals. For the detail of Wokingham I am mainly indebted to Mr. Cocks and the Rev. Theodore M. W. Owen. As Wokingham is often spelt without the W, my theory as to the crowned W and the W at the foot of Roger Landen's shield must be taken *cum grano salis*. We shall return to Berkshire again, but now our studies go to East Anglia for a time.

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE SOUTH COAST EASTWARD

I PROPOSE now to work from the south coast eastward, and then northward, and ending at the Wash. Unfortunately, little is known of our subject as regards either Hampshire or Sussex. Lukis's collection for the former county * contains some usual black-letter inscriptions, a large M or an inverted W on a bell dedicated to St. Laurence at Week, which may belong to the Wokingham-Reading set, and the fine pairs of hexameters on Christchurch fifth and sixth, given in Chapter VIII.

At Warblington Mr. Owen reports to me one bell and no room for more, and yet from its having been tuned by chipping it must have once taken its place with others. The mangled inscription is—

Sancte Pale [*sic*] ora pro nobi,

carelessly cast, and with some letters upside down, without cross or stamps. At Arreton, in the Isle of Wight, I found, in 1852, a small bell, evidently not belonging to the other three, with—

Jhūs ⁝ nicholaus ⁝ ⁝ alicia ⁝ ⁝

and apparently a portion of a date. There is a cross and

* *Church Bells*, pp. 75–79.

some roundlets, but I did not in those days attend enough to the detail. As yet there is nothing discovered as to a foundry.

The only hint given as to a Sussex foundry is the inscription on the bell at Bramber—

+ IHESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDIORVM : NICOLAS ME FECIT.

With this by lettering, stops and cross, are associated the smaller bell at Birdham, the two at Madehurst, and the three at Clapham, inscribed, respectively, + IOHANES; + MARIA; + GOD HELP · SANCTE MARIA; + IACOBVS; + CATERINA; and + KATERINA + MARGARITA. These legends do not indicate a high degree of scholarship, and render their originating in a monastic workshop improbable. Considering the position of these villages, it may turn out that there was, for a while, casting going on at Arundel or Chichester. Further detail as to marks will afford some light. Most of the Sussex black-letter bells are from London, the signs of William Dawe, Richard Hille, Joan Sturdy, and Henry Jurden being no strangers to the county. In the Tudor times John Tonne will receive notice. What is meant by—

+ A · A · M · ME FECIT BEATE MARIA

at Albourne is a difficulty. Perhaps there were two brothers, both Christian names beginning with A. *Fecit* for *fecerunt* is an everyday blunder, the schoolmaster then not being sufficiently abroad. After the days of Stephen Norton, of Kent, rather a chasm occurs in the fusorial history of that important county. We have mentioned Thomas Hickman, who was sacrist of St. Augustine's, as casting bells for Canterbury Cathedral in Norton's time, viz. 1358,* and, of

* Hasted, *History of Kent*, xii. 207

course, it is possible that there may have been later operations at St. Augustine's. Stahlschmidt shows that London swallowed up the bulk of the Norton business. Kent, like Sussex, abounds in bells from the "Billiter" parts of the great city.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, there is a slight revival of local work, in the person of one Richard Kerner, who in 1500 made for St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, a "Wakerell" or sanctus bell, for which he was paid iij*s* viij*d*. There is no charge for carriage, which certainly indicates work on the spot; yet Stahlschmidt's researches have failed to find any record of his admission to citizenship. Four bells are allotted to him by the same authority, two of them in St. Mary Bredin, Canterbury, one dated 1505; one at Hoath, and one at Old Romney. They bear an initial cross which looks to me like an adaptation of the one used in the "Burlingham" group, and the date mentioned is given by the symbols Ihφh. The second bell at St. George's, Canterbury, with William Belleyetere's mark, was cast after his time, to judge from an extract given in Dr. Searle's *Christ Church, Canterbury* *—

"Et eodem die (20 March, 1450), post nonam predictus Episcopus (Ricardus Rossensis) benedixit campanas in campanili sancti Georgii, et ibidem fuerunt monachi ecclesie Christi Cant̄, videlicet Johannes Goldwell sacrista, Robertus Mavdd custos tumbe, Johannes Stone refectorarius, Johannes Clement, subsacrista."

There is a suspicion of a local founder in the case of the third at Down, with two rough but rare stamps, a cross on a half ring, and what seems a kind of trumpet, mouth downwards, ending upwards in three branches, and with two balls on each side of it.

* *Publications of Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1902, p. 51.

Essex is, as might be expected, a metropolitan preserve. The county is being worked by Mr. Walters. As yet there is nothing to report as to casting done within its limits.

Circumstances led to a very different result in East Anglia. Not that Aldgate has failed to assert itself. William Revel and William Dawe have left their mark even in Norwich, and the latter is all over Suffolk, from Clare in the south-west to Ilketshall St. Margaret's in the north-east. In South Suffolk, too, there is a round dozen or so with Henry Jordan's fish, garb, bell and laver, though I was quite wrong * in associating the Stradbroke tenor with this group, as Mr. Cocks has kindly pointed out.† What I ought to have named was the Keble "moon and stars" shield, with the K rebus, and an elaborate cross found also at Sudbury All Saints. Locality, however, prevailed over the attractions of London-made goods. Norwich work is found in abundance in Norfolk and Suffolk, with but two instances in Cambridgeshire, and one (far distant) on the confines of Dorset and Devon, of which more hereafter, while the crossed arrows of Edmund, king and martyr, shot to death at Hoxne, but with an honoured sepulchre at Bury, are common in all three East Anglian counties.

First, then, of the Norwich furnaces and their outcome. After the Nottingham "Brasiere," whom we would identify with William de Norwyco, came in succession, or overlapping somewhat in date, John Sutton, "belleyet'," admitted to the freedom of the city in 1404, of whom nought but the name is known; Thomas Potter, also in the same year, to whom we ascribe the pot mark; ‡ and Richard Baxter,

* *Church Bells of Suffolk*, pp. 25, 238.

† *Church Bells of Bucks*, p. 55.

‡ A pot of this kind, dredged up in the Ouse, may be seen in Lynn Museum.

naturally employed at Mettingham College, for it was the foundation of the celebrated Admiral Sir John de Norwich, the victor in the great naval struggle at Sluys in 1340. The *Cantaria* at Mettingham was founded by him two years later; and in the *Compotus* of Sir John Wilbey, master, owned by our lamented friend, the Rev. Canon Manning, Rector of Diss, is an item for the fourth year of Henry V.: "Itm solut' Ric'o Baxstere p' ij campanis et p' ferr' faciend̄ p' eisdem cū vj solut Joh'i Barkere p. campana carriand̄ Norwic' vsq' Metyngham lxj*s* vij*d*." * It may interest those who have given attention to ancient roadways to know that this pair travelled by the Ninth Route in the English section of Antonine's *Itinerary* over the river at Trowse (*Trajectus*) to cross the Waveney at Wainford Bridge, hard by Mettingham. So good roadways here, as elsewhere, conduced to business. Baxter's name also occurs in a deed belonging to Northwold, Norfolk. The date is 1424. He sometimes used a cross and capital letters which are on Thomas Potter's bells, showing that the foundry had passed from the one to the other, but introduced letters of greater beauty. Contemporaneous with Baxter was Robert Brasyer. Great was the difficulty of surnames in those days. A son did not always follow his father's trade. If he kept his surname he belied his occupation; if he changed it he injured his pedigree. The first Robert Brasyer, who is stated by Mr. Ewing † to have been a mercer, dates back to 1386, and may have been descended from the Nottingham immigrant. He was a man of substance, serving successively as bailiff, sheriff, and mayor. Like Henry Jurden, he knew more trades than one, for his son by his first wife, Richard, who was admitted to the freedom of the city in 1424, is entered in the Free Book as "Ric̄s Brasyer Goldsmyth, fil

* *Mettingham Accounts*, p. 94. † *Norfolk Archæology*, iii. 224.

Robti Brasyer Belzet," where the last word, of course, applies to the father, Robert. This Richard followed both trades, as is clear from an entry in 1450, after a civic order that names should be entered under various trades. Like his father, he served his city, and to such good purpose that in 1457 he received public thanks for his diligence. He placed a beautiful brass (a double one) to his father's memory, which remains in St. Stephen's Church, inscribed—

> O vos omes picturas istas intuentes devotas ad deū Audite preces p' (aīab^{s}) Roberti Brasyer isti ciuitatis quondā Aldermañi et maioris et cristiane ux' eius. Quibs requiē eternam donet deus. Amen.

His will was proved in 1482 by his son by his first wife, the second Richard, of whom we have mention in the Paston Letters.* The dutiful Margery Paston, so well known to all who read these lively reminders of old days, is writing to her husband John, and says, "I sent you a letter be Brasiour sone of Norwiche, wher of I here no word. Wreten at Norwich on Allowmes Day at night."

During the time of the elder Richard Brasyer there was a lawsuit between the men of Mildenhall, Suffolk, and him about the recasting of their bells, in which the element of weight seems to be in consideration, though not in so scandalous a way as in the case of the parishioners of Plymptree and Robert Norton of Exeter. The pretty little West Suffolk market town had been rising in importance in the fifteenth century. A market cross had been erected, and the grand church tower capped with a spire, a fine landmark in the heaths and fens of the Hundred of Lackford. Some good bells seem to have been placed in the tower, but the great

* Gairdner's *Paston Letters*, iii. 293.

bell was broken as early as 1464, when William Chapman, of that parish, bequeathed ten marks for its repair. There were London bells in the bell-frame, of which one still remains; but though there had been two Lord Mayors from Mildenhall, Norwich influence prevailed. Richard Brasyer the elder was called in, and an agreement made by him in virtue of which they were to bring him "le grand bell de Mildenhall." The stipulation that it was to be weighed in their presence is not to be passed over, this apparently being a safeguard against the kind of malpractice in the Plymptree case. Then it was to be recast "de ce faire un tenor pour accorder in tono et sono a les auters belles de Mildenhall." Through the kindness of Dr. Amherst D. Tyssen I was furnished with a verbatim account of the lawsuit which arose about the recasting, from the Year Book, Edward IV., Anno IX. ET, case 13. This, in all its glory of Norman-French, may be read in my *Church Bells of Suffolk*,* from which I extract a summary of the proceedings. The scene is worth dwelling upon. Danby, C.J.,† is presiding in the Court of Common Pleas, his puisne brethren being Choke, Lyttleton,‡ Moyle, and Needham. Two eminent serjeants are retained, Genney for the plaintiffs and Pigot for the defendant. They are both well known in the Paston Letters,§ where there is a bill of costs in the case of Calle *v.* Huggan, with "wyne and perys" quite in the style of Solomon Pell; and Genney became a judge of the King's Bench in 1481. The men of Mildenhall and Richard Brasyer must have found their purses lighter at the end of the performance.

The defendant is sued on his obligation. He does not deny that the bell was brought to his house, but he says that

* Pages 48–51. † Appointed 1461.
‡ Appointed 1466, Author of the *Treatise on Tenures*. § iii. 25.

it was not weighed nor put into the furnace according to the indenture. Thereupon Serjeant Genney says that it is not a good plea, because it was the duty of the defendant to weigh it and put it in the furnace. The indenture certainly did not specify who was to weigh it, but it was plainly part of the occupation of the founder, and it might be understood that he was to carry it out. The learned serjeant then drew a parallel case of a tailor and his customer. Suppose a tailor is under bond to me, on condition that if I bring to his shop three ells of cloth *it shall be cut out*, and he shall make me a gown, then it is not for him to plead that the cloth was not cut out, for it is his business to cut it out. To this Choke, Lyttleton, and Moyle agreed, Choke adding that the indenture expresses that it is to be weighed and put in the furnace in the presence of the men of Mildenhall, which showed that they were not to do it. Needham, however, held that they could have as well weighed it as the defendant could have weighed it, that part of the affair requiring no special skill; and he also called up an imaginary tailor, the counterpart of Serjeant Genney's.

The truer parallel, said Justice Needham, would be the measuring and making up the cloth, not the cutting it out and making it up; and if the bond did not specify who was to measure it, the party to whom the bond was given ought to do so. However, as to the casting, he agreed with the other judges. Then up rises Serjeant Pigot for the defendant, reasoning on the bond somewhat in the style of the proceedings in the well-known case of Shylock *v.* Antonio. "A bond," says he, "means what it says. The weighing comes first and the casting afterwards. Brasyer could not recast the bell till it had been weighed. The bond says that it is to be weighed in the presence of the men of Mildenhall, and they might

have made other men weigh it." Chief Justice Danby's common sense puts all this aside. The substance of the bond was the casting of the bell, the weighing being a mere accident. It is not in accordance with our ideas to find the counsel for the plaintiffs speaking after the Chief Justice, but Genney, being a serjeant, was a brother, and he adds another case in point. "Suppose," says he, "that a bond said that my son should walk to a certain church to marry your daughter, and that, instead of walking, he rode (*chavaucha*), or was carried in a litter (*en braces*), this accidental deviation would not forfeit the bond, the substance of it, the marriage, having been completed." This carried the day, but what the practical upshot was we know not. Certainly the grand tower remained long without a tenor; for in 1530 Henry Pope, of "Twamil," bequeathed iij^{li} x^{s} "towarde the makyng of the gret belle . . . to be payde by the hands of . . . Thomas Larke whansoever the town doo go abowght the making thereof."

For this most instructive episode we are indebted to the learning and research of the late Lord Blackburn, which was drawn forth by an appeal to the House of Lords in 1881, in the case of Mackay *v.* Dick. Dick and Stevenson were engineers who invented a "steam navvy," which Mackay, a contractor, purchased and alleged to be a failure, while they declared that it had not been tried according to agreement. Thus the history of our bells obtained illustration from a most unlikely quarter.

The Brasyers used three shields, bearing three bells and a coronet. The earliest of the three is supposed to be that with a sprigged field, the sprigs being replaced by a more heraldic ermine afterwards. This later style is in two sizes. My conjecture would be that the change came about after

the death of the elder Richard. Of the numerous Brasyer bells in existence, there are but two to which dates can be assigned, and both of these bear the ermine shield, viz. the Norwich Cathedral tenor, *c.* 1469, and the larger bell now at Salhouse, 1481. This was the gift of the Guild of Corpus Christi at Oxburgh in the same county, and probably came from that parish. The cathedral date, which synchronizes with the Mildenhall lawsuit, shows that the founder had not lost his reputation in the eyes of the Church dignitaries. L'Estrange, to whom we are indebted for much information as to Norwich, gives an extract from the will of the younger Richard Brasyer, which shows that the family name died out with him. His "Werkhous" is to be occupied, says he "by oon of the conyngest men of my occupacion that hath be my Prentice," for a year and a day, in order to give his executors time to carry out the bargains necessary under the will. If they cannot sell, they are to "lett" the stuff, with "bell muldis and croks and oder instruments," for another year and a day. The triangular plot of ground bounded by Red Lion Street, Rampant Horse Lane, and Little Orford Street long retained its reputation. In 1741 Blomefield, in his plan of the city, marks here "a Brew-house where antiently stood A Work House," and in King's map, 1766, it is noted as "Foundry."

The one outlier from Norwich to which I have alluded was found by me at Ford Abbey, in the parish of Thorncombe, now in Dorset but formerly in Devonshire. It bears the smaller ermine shield, and is inscribed—

+ Fac Margareta Nobis hec Munera Leta.

No clue as yet has been found to unravel the mystery of this traveller.

The younger Richard Brasyer died in 1513, and his executors had no easy task before them, to judge from the fact that seventeen years intervened before the next founder, William Barker, was admitted to the freedom of the city, on St. Luke's Day, 1530. He occupied, however, the Brasyer foundry, though he could hardly have been "oon of the conyngest men" spoken of in the will. Seven years and eight months to a day was the period of his citizenship, for his death entry is in St. Stephen's register, June 18, 1538. All that I can say about him in that time is that he had dealings with Harry Toley, merchant, of Ipswich, and founder of almshouses there.* He left his wife his house, called "The Three Bells," and his "working-house with all the hole cheker therto belonging," on condition that she discharged obligations due thereupon to John Allen, "Hosyar." Besides Norwich and Lynn, we have no note of mediæval castings in Norfolk.

Suffolk might have been expected to put forth large results, considering the great reputation and wide influence of the abbey of St. Edmund. It is rather late in the Plantagenet period when the first signs of a Suffolk foundry are shown. There is a large group of bells—nearly sixty—in the county which bear an elaborate shield (Fig. 40), traceable by the crown and arrows to the ancient abbey burgh. Norfolk contains eighteen of these bells, Cambridgeshire fifteen, and Northamptonshire two, near each other, at Bozeat and Newton Bromswold. There are solitary specimens at Gestingthorpe, Essex; and Barkway, Hertfordshire. The Bury foundry shield appears almost always on these bells, and is full of important detail. In chief is a crown between two pairs of arrows, saltireways, points downward, with balls above

* Paper on Harry Toley, by V. B. Redstone, May, 1902.

and below. The field is occupied by a bell over cross keys between the letters ƀ and s, the initials of the founder; and in base is a cannon with a ball issuing from its mouth towards the right. This is all an object lesson, of course. The chief gives the town, and as balls are found in other stamps, it is probable that the Bury foundry cast them, as well as other foundries. The keys of St. Peter have a local reference, as two of these Bury men were interred in St. Peter's aisle in St. Mary's Church. We do not yet know who ƀ s was, but trust that future investigation in wills and compotus books may in due course reveal him. That he was at work about the end of the fifteenth century is shown by the third bell at Isleham, Cambridgeshire, mentioned in the list of Gabriel bells, on which John Bernard and his wife, and Thomas Peyton and his wife, are named; for John Bernard died in 1451 and Thomas Peyton in 1484. The inscriptions are generally of the **ora pro nobis** type. At Conington, Cambridgeshire, capitals are used on the treble, but not on the tenor. The one Bury bell in Hertfordshire bears the Salutation, and the tenor at Stoke Ash, Suffolk, the opening of the Apostles' Creed. Several of the Leonine hexameters mentioned in Chapter IX. are found, as the sailors' Star of the Sea, and the same figure for St. Barbara.

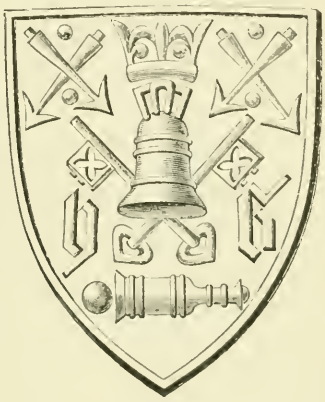


Fig. 40.

+ Meritis Edmundi Simus A Crimine Mundi

is common to Norwich as well as to Bury St. Edmund's.

Following on Ƀ S comes the full name of Reignold Chyrch, who continued the use of the established shield, and, like his predecessor, dispensed with the rhyme stop. It is quite impossible to determine the special founder to whom any of the Bury bells are to be attributed. Not only the two shields, larger and smaller, of the same design, but initial crosses, stops, and lettering were used, so far as we can judge, as freely by Reignold Chirche and his son Thomas as by Ƀ S. Three specimens of this lettering are given, D and S upside down, and A (Figs. 41, 42, 43). Though there remains

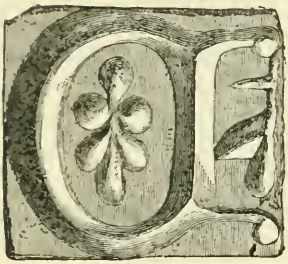


FIG. 41.

FIG. 42.

FIG. 43.

but the bell at Barley to tell of Bury work in Hertfordshire, we find from the churchwardens' account at Bishop's Stortford that Reignold Chirche was employed for that parish, in spite of its nearness to London. Indeed, there may have been dissatisfaction with the Aldgate quarter, for after much money spent about the middle of the fifteenth century, more is got together by guild collections, gifts, and bequests, so that in 1489–90 the five bells go to Bury to be recast. As usual, the costs and expenses of the churchwardens in riding to see the bellfounder figure in the payments, "Et in custag̃ et expen̄ p'dict yconomor̄ equitanc̄

ad Bury sc̄ Edī p̄ ff'c̄uro convenc cū Reginald Chirche Bellfoundō p̄ h(ujusmodi) campan̄ ffacient infra temp̄. comp̄ hoc anno iiij*s* viij*d*. Et sol̄ p. ffactur' Indentur̄ et obligac̄ de convenc. p̄dict con . . . xxij*d*." A Bury blacksmith is employed in making the clappers, and "brases" are supplied by the founder to eke out the metal, at a charge of xix*s*. viij*d*. Then comes the settling of the bill in part, "Et solut' eidm Reginald Chirche sup̄ delib̄acoem p'dict campan̄ in p̄tem solucōis xlij^{li} ——." At this point there is an erasure in the book, and instead of xviij^{li}, which appears to have been written at first, is substituted the humbler x^{li}. In 1495 the churchwardens had another ride to Bury, paying up iiij^{li}, and again in the following year, when they carried x^{li}. No doubt in the end they paid in full; but in 1506, after some steeple disaster, they sent their broken bell to London.* In 1498 the elder Chirche died. His will was proved on February 16, and full extracts from it are given in my *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*,† and *Church Bells of Suffolk*.‡ Here may be noted—

"My body to be buryed in Seynt Mary Chirche, in the Ele of Seynt Pet̄ vnder the marble ston ther by me leid. . . . My executors to keep a sangrede and an erthtyde yeerly for my soule, &c., in the chirche of our lady. . . . My iij smale ten'ntries set in Reynsgate strete shall remayn to almesis housis for eū. . . . I will that Thomas Chirche my sone do make clene the grete lectorn that I gave to Seynt Mary chirche quart'ly as long as he levyth."

The lectern was therefore cleaned without expense to the parish for nearly thirty years, as Thomas Chirche lived till 1527.

During this period a great deal of metal must have passed

* See Glasscock's *Records of St. Michael's Church, Bishop's Stortford.*

† Page 35. ‡ Page 71.

through the Bury foundry. Of two fine bells in East Anglia bearing the St. Edmund stamp, the tenor at Redenhall and the seventh at All Saints', Sudbury, the former may be certainly, and the latter probably, ascribed to him. Though the Redenhall bell has been terribly mangled by chipping—both sharpened and flattened, so that from the former process its diameter has lost some three-quarters of an inch—its tone is still very fine, as will be acknowledged by dwellers in the neighbourhood, as well as by ringers from all parts of the country. The weight is about 24 cwt., the diameter 50½ inches, the height to the crown 37½ inches, less half an inch for the interior height, while from the crown to the top of the canons is a good foot and a half. It must be Thomas Chirche's, bearing, as it does, the Bury marks, and dating from 1514, or soon afterwards, this being the date of a bequest from Thomas Bayly, of Harleston, "vj*s* viij*d* to the church of Rednall to the yotyng of the gret belle." The Sudbury bell, with the "Star of the Sea" inscription, weighs a ton, or thereabouts. The fifth in the same tower, a St. Katherine, is also from Bury, but between the two is a coeval Londoner, rather a puzzle.

At Cambridge there was the same change in the case of the second of the five which used to hang in the bell-house belonging to King's College (Fig. 44). After three recasts by London founders in the fifteenth century, it passed in 1500 through the workshop of Thomas Chirche, who was paid in that year two sums of x^{s} and one of iiij^{li} for his labour. Like Thomas Potter, of Norwich, and others, he combined smaller work with greater, for among "Expense necessarie" appears in the Mundum Book, "Item xv^{o} die Septembris sol̄ thome chyrche de Bury pro vna olla pro coquina pond̄ iij quart̄ of C & v^{li} cum cambis antiqui metalli pond j quart of

C & vj^{li} et pro ij ladylls . . . xvj*s*." There is mention of him also in 1514, at St. Mary-the-Great, the accounts containing "an obligacyon for Tho. Church bell-founder of Bury."

The Subsidy Rolls in the Record Office, $\frac{180}{180}$, 14 & 15 Henry VIII., have his name and value, "Villa de Bury.

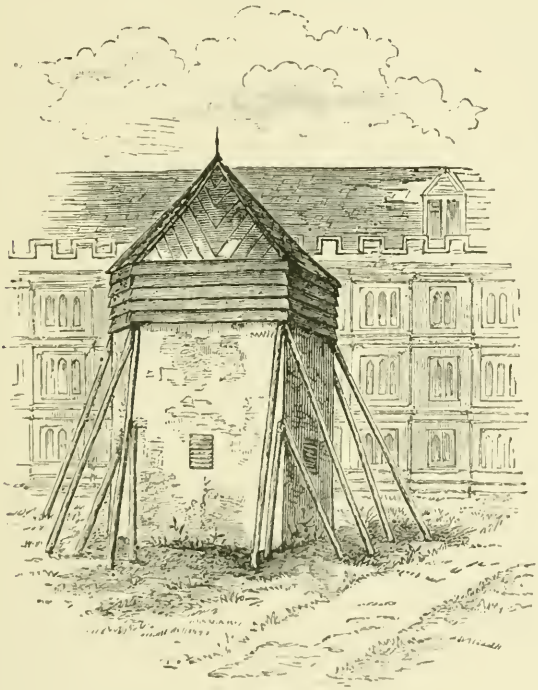


FIG. 44.

Thomas Churche, Befounder. £400." * His will in many points resembles his father's, following whose example, he had laid a stone in St. Peter's "Ele," in St. Mary's Church. He left "oon food of led," perhaps part of his foundry flux, to the church, and "a litil stondyng maser" to the Guild of

* From A. H. Cocks, July 5, 1890.

St. Nicholas, "holdyn in the College w^t^thyn the seid town of Bury." The trade of "Braser" is in the list of abbey property for that year.*

To Thomas Chyrche succeeded Roger Reve, who cast the second bell for Depden, or Debden, in Essex, in 1533, giving a bond for xl^li^ for its remaining good for a year and a day, the "saide meane Belle" to be recast if within that time it should "discorde or breke through defaute of workmanship." The parish authorities were to take the bell down if necessary, at their cost and to carry it to Bury and back, as often as need be, at the cost of the founder. Then comes in the *vexata quæstio* of weight, thus expressed, "Moreov'r, it is agreed between the said p'ties that if the said meane belle be more in pondes whan it is now new yoten than it was before," then the parish authorities, or one of them, "to content and pay to the said Roger aft' the Rate of xxx^s^ the hundred of v^xx^ and xij to the hundred." And if it "waye lesse," the said Roger "was to pay aft' the Rate of xv^s^ the hundred aft' the same waight." This little difference is notable, as well as the mixture of trades, for on the endorsement Roger Reve is styled "clothear." With Roger Reve we leave the mediæval foundry in the burgh of St. Edmund, with much regret that no gun has been found with the Bury stamp. The Woolwich collection is certainly destitute of them. They did their work in their day, and it is not incredible that among the artillery which riddled the galleys and galleons of the Spanish Armada half a century later there may have been some which bore the initials B S, and as they came forth from the mould gratified the approving eye of one of the Chirches, or of Roger Reve. The double brass with bells in St. Mary's, Bury, has long disappeared.

* *East Anglian*, x. 298.

The only other indication of a foundry in East Anglia is the mention in the *Pedes Finium*, Cambridgeshire, 1272, of a "Frater Rog' de Ebor̄, Prioris Ordinis de Penitencia Jesu X^{ti} v. Walter le Braszur & Aldretha ux. eius in 'Suburbs of Camb.'" No casting can be traced to the town.

CHAPTER XII

THE MIDLANDS AND THE NORTH

EXCELLENT as was the work of the two great East Anglian foundries, we find nothing of it further to the north and west, save the two Northamptonshire "travellers." In the Middle Ages there was scanty communication, and even a century ago a journey from South Lincolnshire into West Norfolk was made partly by boat. The coach dropped the wayfarer at the county border, whence he was conveyed some distance by water to the Cross Keys in the parish of Walpole St. Peter's, where King John is said to have lost his baggage. At this hostelry another coach was in readiness, and so the journey to Lynn was completed. This accounts for the disappearance of the Norwich and Bury marks. Indeed, in the "parts called Holland" black-letter bells are hardly to be found.

Passing into the "parts called Lindsey," the familiar London stamps, those of Dawe, Jurden, and Kebyll, appear, not far from the coast, and very likely sea-borne. An undoubtedly local man, Robert Merston, turns up in the vicinity of Louth, but not elsewhere. Like William Flint at Cold Ashby, he marks his bells with his seal, a city gate surmounted by a crescent. This may indicate some connection with Lincoln. A solitary bell in the county, that at

North Elkington, is by an equally untraceable maker, "Johannes Sleyht," who spells his name without the *h* at Glapthorne, Northamptonshire. Much labour will be necessary amongst civic and borough documents before these makers can be run home, while at Boston, John Pynchbeck, *c.* 1497, and Leonard Pynchbeck, *c.* 1506, are names to us, and nothing more. Dr. Gasquet will tell us, in his *Parish Life*, of John Red, *c.* 1503.

Want of localization also besets us in the case of the lettering on the nine bells in Lincolnshire and one at Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts, which is absolutely unrivalled for design and execution, mentioned in Chapter IX.

Stowed away in an outhouse at the Red Lion Inn at Boston, is a most remarkable specimen, said, on what authority I know not, to have been the sanctus bell at Leverton. When I saw it on January 1, 1881, it was in use for the market ordinary. Narrow-crowned and spread out, the crown much rounded, it might be called a *petasus*. One shank acted for hanging purposes; it never had inscription or beading, and was painted a dull red, perhaps to match the Lion.

At Halam, Notts, is a bell very much of the same description, and very possibly from the same hand. That county requires thorough working up. I sent a paper to the Nottingham Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in 1901, which has had the effect of bringing me into touch with some kind local correspondents, but at present there are no black-letter bells to refer to. Yet in 1488 there existed a foundry in the county town, under the care of Richard Mellour, Alderman and Belyetter.* He was twice mayor, in 1499 and 1506, and he must have died in 1508 or

* North's *Church Bells of Lincolnshire*, p. 102.

1509, from the evidence of a deed to which his widow, Agnes Mellers, was a party. His son Robert left his mark in Lincolnshire in his day, though the bells cast by him for Louth, and one by him at Wigtoft, have since been recast.

From the accounts of the latter parish it may be seen how the journey was made thither from Mellour's foundry, some time after his death in 1525. North quotes them as between 1535 and 1543:—

"The expenc and payment layd forth by John Alison church maist^r for the bell schottyng at Nottynggam

	£	s.	d.
First for ye bell clapper	0	0	6
Itm for the shoyng of vj horsis and for removis	0	1	8
Itm payd at Bottysforth for sope' and brekfast ...	0	0	10
Itm payd for the grysse of 9 horsis	0	0	8
Itm at Nottyngham for the mett of ye said horsis from Wedonsdaye at none unto Thursdaye at none	0	1	6
Itm for their dyn'es	0	0	6
Itm for drynk to ye hands at castyng ye bell ...	0	0	4
Itm for theer sopper at night & dyn' at Thursday at none	0	1	0
Itm for making of ye obligacyon	0	0	4
Itm for theer drynkyng by ye way toward and froward...	0	0	4
Itm at Thursday at nyght at potysforth * for ye sopper	0	0	6
Itm for ye horsis matt 8^d. for John Sna'd breakfast 2^d.	0	0	10
Itm for bryngyng ye bell Wele from boston ...	0	0	2

But somehow the Wigtoft bell did not suit, and in 1543 there was an exchange with Swineshead, when another twopence was paid for drink "wan were at Swynshed to change

* Bottesford.

ye bell," fivepence to "nicolas bell for hengyng ye bell and for ale and brede at ye tyme," and twopence to "henri daye for caryng ye bell to ye abbay & bryngyng y other bell home." If this amount seems trifling it must be remembered that the distance between Wigtoft and Swineshead is small. The bells in that "Abbey Church" were recast in 1794, and consequently we cannot get at the Nottingham marks, but before this recasting there were four bells, and the inscriptions are recorded in the Harleian MSS.* Either the treble or the tenor might have been the Wigtoft changeling, probably the former, with the well-known **In Multis Annis** hexameter. The latter bore the salutation in full, ending with *fructus.*

At Leicester there was one William Millers, "Bell Haytaū," simultaneously exercising his craft with Richard Mellour the elder at Nottingham. North † suggests that the two may have been of the same family, and bearing in mind the usual variations in spelling, I am quite of the same opinion. William Millers was admitted a member of the Merchants' Guild, Leicester, in the mayoralty of William Wigston, junior, 1499–1500. He died in 1506, leaving two sons, neither of whom seems to have entered into the business. Like Joan Hille, the widow Margery carried on the foundry, taking for her second husband another founder, Thomas Newcombe, a surname which lasted long in the Leicester business. After his death in 1520 she was married to a third of the same trade, one Thomas Bett, mayor in 1529. Nichols ‡ relates from the Town Records that on March 27 "there was brought" to him "hawthorn bud'yth furth, beane flowres, and a cullumbell flour." The connection between these three

* 6829, fo. 224.

† *Church Bells of Leicestershire*, p. 41.

‡ *Leicestershire*, i. 391.

men and foundry stamps of the time is not clear. The little tenor at Markfield, with a blundered hexameter—

+ Nomen De celis Abeo Micaelis Missi,

has also round the rim—

+ robarte -arke and annis hys wefe made me.

Regarding the prominence of ladies in this foundry business, there seems no reason for taking this otherwise than literally, and the clue is worth following up. The county has but a scanty share of later Plantagenet bells. The existence of a bell in the now ruined church of Leicester St. Peter, in 1306, is shown by a tragic event in that tower. On Christmas Eve, Simon de Waleys, clerk, went to the church about midnight to "strike the bell" according to custom. William the Vicar, there before him, reproached him for his delay, struck him on the head with a meat knife called a "misericorde," and caused his death.

The period with which we are dealing is still more sparsely represented in Northamptonshire. "There is no trace discovered of a bell-foundry in this county earlier than the seventeenth century," says Mr. North in the exordium to his book, "consequently the interest attaching to the founders here is not so great as that connected with the more ancient ones of Leicester. There are no wills, with their quaint provisions and phraseology to extract, and there are few beautifully designed initial crosses and founders' stamps to engrave." Londoners, however, are a little more plentiful than in Leicestershire, while in little Rutland there is but a solitary "Ring and Cross" on the bell at Tixover, dedicated to St. Faith.

In Buckinghamshire, Mr. Cocks gives a list of nine bells, within a radius of eleven miles from Buckingham. Two of

them are in border parishes of Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire respectively, and more may be found in the latter county. Their position points to Buckingham as their place of origin, and their lettering and ornamentation belong to the fourteenth century. Thomas Swadling, mentioned by the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee, in his *History of the Prebendal Church of Thame*, as at work there in 1450, may have been a Buckinghamshire or Oxfordshire founder. The volume of accounts in which his name occurs is unfortunately lost. In it, according to Dr. Lee, was the mention of "Powells or Ap Powells of Buckingham" employed at Thame in 1503. In the oldest accessible volume John Appowell is recorded as buying the great bell of Thame in 1552, and in the same year there is an entry in the Buckingham Borough Court Record about an action brought by him against John Foxley, gent., for xxxviij*s*. In the next year he was appointed a "taster of vyctualle"; and at Wing, Bucks, the man and the town are specified in the same transactions about bells, "John appowell" in 1557, "buckyngham" in 1556. Oxfordshire and Warwickshire are both in much the same case as Northamptonshire. Lukis gives the inscription on the treble at Aston Rowant in the former county,

+ Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis P.W. R.

These initials look like a bell-founder's, but as yet the names cannot be filled in, and there are a few other black letters from London in the Lukis catalogue, but no hint as to local work. Of Warwickshire, Mr. Tilley, in his paper on that county, contrasts the prosperity of the Edgbaston foundry in the beginning of the eighteenth century with the absence of mediæval work done, adding, "I have reason to believe that no foundry for bells existed in the county before the

Reformation; I have, however, no *direct* proof to support my opinion, but must leave it to your own judgment to decide." *

Judging from marks and lettering there are three distinct groups of bells in Worcestershire, all centering round the Cathedral city, and thus indicating it to be the home of the foundry. In the first, the lettering and stamps used by John Barber of Salisbury appear, neither remarkable for excellence. There is an initial cross of fleurs-de-lis saltireways, and some of the capitals are crowned. These extend into Shropshire, Staffordshire, Hereford, and Warwick. The second rather larger company has its representatives also in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire; and from the identity of lettering with that used by Derby and Rufford of London, it seems that the foundry, though presumably at Worcester, was a metropolitan offshoot. Lastly, with the same centre, are seven bells still in the district, and one which has travelled from Worcester St. Michael's to Devonport, with unique inscriptions, of which two, the tenor at Grimley and the larger bell at Worcester St. Michael's, bear respectively the dates 1482 and 1480. A royal head, used at Worcester, has been found at Nettleton, Wilts, and Kerry in Montgomeryshire. At Ludlow in 1471–2 a Brasyer was paid vij*s*. for "mendyng of the Belle," but there is nothing further to show whether this operation was performed by a local man. None of the four bells from Worcester Cathedral, now at Didlington Hall, Norfolk, in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, appear to have been made in the county.

Shrewsbury had a IOHANNES BELYETERE in the middle of the fourteenth century. His name appears in the borough

* *The Church Bells of Warwickshire*, p. 3.

records, and on a bell at Longnor. In 1872, the late Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt began an important series of articles on the Church Bells of Derbyshire in *The Reliquary*. He found mediæval bells in scanty number, and metropolitan marks conspicuous by their absence. As yet there is no trace of a local foundry.

Staffordshire has a better share of the work of the Middle Ages. Master Henry Michel of Lichfield, however, whose name occurs in the Chronicles of Crokesden, is the only founder to be named as at work in the county at this period. John de Stafford and Michael de Lichfield are found beyond its bounds, and, like William de Notyngham and others kept, their surname for a time, at least, in their migrations.

The Worcester cross of fleurs-de-lis saltireways is on the fourth bell at Chebsey; there are two Culverdens at Kingstone, dedicated respectively to St. James and St. Leonard; the arms of England at Chebsey on the third are identical with those in Shropshire and Gloucestershire from London. Henry Jurden's cross keys, fish, garb, bell and laver may be seen at Gnosall. Mr. Lynam's book is a collection of fine engravings, but his other labours prevented that research into documents by which the history of the foundry work is unravelled.

Of Cheshire I can say practically nothing, and South Lancashire is in the same plight. Here the prosperity of later days has led to an unusual amount of recasting, whereas the Cheshire towers may be regarded as stores of information for the time to come. Already North Lancashire has begun to yield its treasures, and the researches of Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A. (Scot.), in five towers in the Archdeaconry of Furness lead to the expectation that much interesting

matter is awaiting the discoverer. At Colton is a bell inscribed—

+ CAMPANA ≡ BEATI ≡ IOHANNES (*sic*) ≡ APPLI,

with an initial cross of the York "Potter" type. Mr. Whitehead would ascribe this bell to John de Kirkham, but a comparison of marks, in Mr. Gaythorpe's opinion, does not justify this conclusion. A recast bell from Kirkby Ireleth had its inscription preserved, undoubtedly a dedication to the Virgin Mary, but copied by one unfamiliar with the characters of the period. At Broughton-in-Furness is a rather short, wide bell inscribed—

+ IOHANNES · EST · NOMEN · MEVM,

which I should assign to the fifteenth century, regarding the lettering as a survival.

Working eastward we have a very different tale to tell in Yorkshire, where, in the West Riding, the labours of Mr. J. Eyre Poppleton have resulted in the production of an important list of craftsmen all along the line, from which the following names are extracted, belonging to the period which we are now discussing:—

Adam, Friar	Doncaster ...	1335–49
Annington, Ric.	York ...	1515
Asby, Thomas	York ...	1485
Aughton, Henry de ...	York ...	1384
Aughton, Henry de ...	York ...	1491
Bee, Gilbert	York ...	1513
Bery, John	York ...	1461
Blakey, Ric.	York ...	1501
Bonyne, Gyliseus	York ...	1365–74
Bous, John	York ...	1354
Copgrave, John de ...	York ...	1140

Copgrave, William de ...	York ...	1297
Dawson, William	York ...	1514
Doe, Gilbert	York ...	1515
Eschby, John	York ...	1505
Fourness, Thomas ...	Halifax ...	1472
Gerveaux, John	York ...	1400
Heathcote, George i ...	York ...	1490–1541
Heathcote, George ii ...	York ...	1540–1558
Hoton, William de i ...	York ...	1297–1300
Hoton, William de ii ...	York ...	1409–45
Hoton, John de	York ...	1455–73
King, William	York ...	1435
Kirkham, John de ...	York ...	1371
Lonsdale, Thomas ...	York ...	1432
Lowesse, John	York ...	1474
Lowesse, T.	York ...	1485
Marshall, John	York ...	1385
Potter, John	York ...	1359–80
Richardson, Richard ...	York ...	1504
Richardson, James ...	York ...	1515
Ryche, Thomas	York ...	1537
Sowerby, Thomas de ...	York ...	1380
Stokesley, William ...	York ...	1340
Tenand, John	York ...	1508–16
Thwaites, William ...	York ...	1512

Of Friar William de Touthorp and of Richard Tunnoc we have spoken already. The time may come when the special works of these men which yet exist may be classed. In Mr. Park's *Church Bells of Holderness*, there is no notice of foundry stamps; and all I can add to that part of Yorkshire is that two smaller bells were sold from the Chapel of Ravenserre Odd to Aldeburgh between 1349 and 1353 after the inundation.*

* Boyle's *Lost Towns of the Humber*, p. 47.

The second of the ballads in Ritson's *Robin Hood* throws some light on the wandering life of the potter. If bell business fell slack, and metal was lying about unproductive, then the furnaces would be aglow for the turning out of lavers, pots, and pans. The demand for these in the immediate vicinity being exhausted, the van must be requisitioned, and a tour made further afield in the usual manner. Robin Hood and his merry men are on the look-out for their kind of business, and

> "He was war of a prowd potter
> Cam dryfyng owyr the ley."

He remarks to Little John that this arrogant traveller

> "Was never so corteys a man
> On peney of pawage * to pay."

Little John rejoins by mentioning the seven strokes which the potter had given him, and lays Robin forty shillings that if they come to blows the potter will win. Accordingly, Robin goes for the haug[illegible]er, but gets the worst of it. The merry men com[illegible]e rescue, and the potter yields, and agrees to chang[illegible]hes with Robin, who takes the pots into Nottingham to [illegible]ll them.

> "Pottys! pottys! he gan crey foll sone,
> Haffe hansell for the mar,"

apparently agreeing to take half price from the first buyer. Business was brisk, for the good folk of the town saw that he did not understand prices, and "seyde he had be no potter long," for

* *Pavagium*, toll for passage. Cf. *Shotford* (Scottaforda, Domesday Book) over the Waveney.

"The pottys that wer werthe pens feyffe
He solde tham for pens thre:
Preveley seyde man and weyffe
Ywnder potter schall never the."

When the "gode outlawe" and the tradesman met again, the former inquired of the latter the value of the pots sold, and finding that

"They wer worth two nobellys, seyd he,
So mot y heyffe or the.
So cowde y had for tham
And y had ther be,"

he generously gives the owner ten pounds. The story is one of the most racy in the collection which we owe to Joseph Ritson.

But stories are about all that can be told in the bell annals of the north, though a part of England always famous for archæological research, till Cumberland is reached. Here light is thrown on one of the York founders, John de Kirkham, whose local name is from the parish in the Hundred of Amounderness, Lancashire. We owe this to the excellent work of the Rev. Henry Whitehead in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*. At Dacre he found three remarkably interesting bells. Of these the second bears two inscriptions, the upper one—

+ CAMPANA : BEATE : MARIE,

the lower—

+ JOHANNES : DE KVRKAM : ME FECIT.

Now this John's name occurs in the Fabric Rolls of York Minster for the year 1371 * as follows:—

* Surtees Society Publications, xxxv. 9, 10.

"Et in mxij lb de ere et stagno emptis de ... xix^{li} ix^{s} viij^{d}
Johanne de Kirkham dando pro C xxvj*s* viij*d*
Et in permutacione facta cum Johanne de
Kirkham pro alia magna campana pro le clok et
habuit in emendacione cum campana ecclesie xx^{li}"

The first of these items is reasonably taken by Stahlschmidt as a proof that John de Kirkham was a York citizen, for the quantity of metal looks like a home store. I would that John's arithmetic in that item were more clear. Perhaps there is a mistake somewhere in the figures.

Lukis has noted the initial cross on the lower inscription on this Dacre second as occurring also on the second at Scawton, Yorkshire, where the foundry shield bears a pastoral staff between a candlestick, a bell, and a pot. Round this shield is an inscription—

+ JOANNES DE COPGRAF ME FECIT

The dedication is the same as at Dacre. Poppleton's date for this founder, no doubt a native of Copgrave near Ripon, is *c.* 1140, and as there is a William later on from the same place, the foundry seems to have passed from one to the other, and afterwards to John de Kirkham. Subsequent York founders may have made the other two Dacre bells, as also those at Cumrew, Threlkeld, and other places.

But we must not leave the Cumberland folk without a notice of their cathedral bells, of which Mr. Whitehead in 1883 used the words "disused and almost forgotten, no peal rung on them within living memory." Though all but one, the fifth, have been recast in later times, one early in the days of James I., two during the Commonwealth, one in the reign of George II., and one as late as 1845, yet the metal is sure to be the same (with additions) as that of Bishop Strickland's

four (1400–1419), of which Leland says, "Hic fecit mag. campanile in cathedr. ecclesia a medietate ad summum, una cum quatuor magnis campanis in eodem.* This remaining fifth bears in grand floriated capitals the inscription—

+ IHC + IN : VOCE : SVM : MVNDA : MARIA : SONANDO : SECVNDA

Mr. Whitehead gives two versions of *voce*, either from the sound of the bell, or taking *voce sum*, as equivalent to *vocor*. I am bound to say that I am strongly in favour of the former interpretation, as he happily puts it—

> "I, Mary, with pure accent sing
> Second in the chiming ring."

Founders often used the opportunity of thus advertising the excellence of their work. The initials I : B appear just below the sacred monogram, probably those of the founder, who may be the John Bous of York, *c.* 1354, the date corresponding with the elaborate Longobardic lettering.

This completes our mediæval pilgrimage to foundries. Where there was a local habitation as well as a name there was often much itineration, and some makers' names are met with to which no fixed abode is assignable, men who alike avoided the advantages and the responsibilities of citizen and burgess life.

Of this kind was apparently Austen Bracker, who can be traced by his cross and lettering from Shouldham in West Norfolk to Newton and Harston in Cambridgeshire, where the legend—

EM DAM REKCARB NEC SA

on the tenor remains as a monument of his learning. The bells at Babingley and Hales, Norfolk, attributed to him by

* *Collectanea*, i. 472.

Mr. Downman,* are, according to L'Estrange,† from Lynn. The former writer attributes to him also bells at Little Cornard and Little Welnetham, Suffolk, and a black letter St. George at Anstey, Hertfordshire, which certainly bears Bracker's radicated rose in a shield, conjoined as an enigma with Robert Crowch's r c shield. Founders on tour would naturally tarry in a place where business might be expected to be found, and when their gear was required in some place in the vicinity, they would bring it and the metal to the churchyard, failing other accommodation. Traces of their operations are sometimes found in digging graves, as lately at Fressingfield, Suffolk, and a little earlier at Empingham, Rutland, and at Scalford, Leicestershire.‡ Business-like men might have been expected not to leave much of their precious stuff behind them; yet in the last-named churchyard a mass of bell metal was found which had clearly been in a state of fusion on the spot. There are several instances of monastic castings in abbey precincts.

Our ears are now ringing with many inharmonious sounds, among them "Fiscal Reform," and we must not pass over the legislation of 1483, prohibiting the importation of foreign bells into England. So far as we can judge, this was a precautionary measure; at any rate, hardly anything can be named as having come from abroad prior to that date. Yet now and then we find, before the reign of Richard III., undoubted cases of the foreigner's intrusion, and cannot help wondering what Norwich and Bury thought when the bell at Whitton, in south-east Suffolk, was brought across the water. It is inscribed with the Salutation, año · m · cccc · xli, and the

* *Ancient Church Bells in England*, p. 126.
† *Church Bells of Norfolk*, pp. 24, 87.
‡ North, *Church Bells of Rutland*, p. 11.

word-stop is a trefoil of continental aspect, possibly Low Country, possibly French. Six years afterwards came to Baschurch, Shropshire, a bell from Venlo, inscribed + maria · int · iaer · ons · heeren · m · cccc · ende · xlvij, with the name ian · van · venloe, which an enthusiastic Welshman, taking it for his mother tongue, rendered "When cut off from life we become dead earth, the soul departs, and proceeds through the air to Eternal Glory." * The protective Act had been in operation nearly half a century, when a bell was cast in Mechlin which in some manner found its way to the tower of Bromeswell church, near Woodbridge, Suffolk. The village is not far from the estuary of the Deben, which affords a convenience for landing this piece of contraband goods. The tone of the bell, though clear, is not particularly melodious, and I am glad to say that it has never been chipped. It is inscribed in Roman capitals—

JHESUS BEN IC GHEGOTEN VAN CORNELIS
WAGHEVENS INT IAER ONS HEEREN MCCCCCXXX

The note is C ♯.

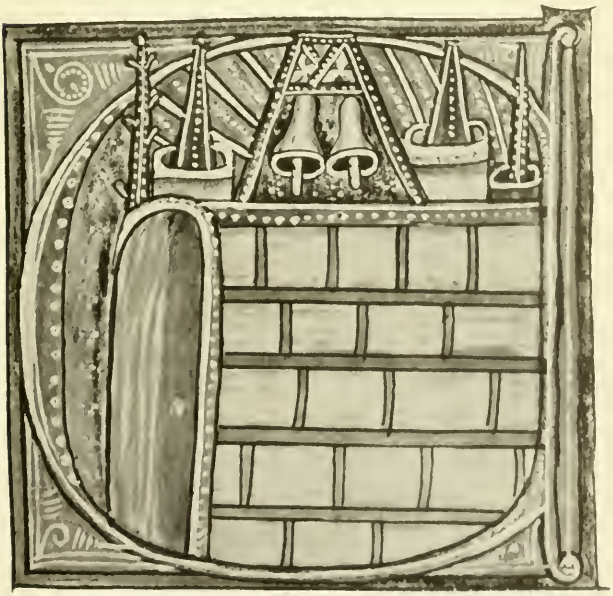
Through the kindness of the Reverend William van Castor, one of the canons of Mechlin Cathedral, I received much valuable information concerning the Waghevens family, and Mons. S. de Schryver has immortalized our Suffolk Fleming in his paper entitled *Quelques Anciennes Cloches d'Église* (Bruxelles, 1903). The ornamentation of this bell is most beautiful. There are four medallions, nearly two inches in diameter, representing the Flight into Egypt, the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Victory of St. Michael over the Dragon; and the design of the border, if not elegant, is certainly masterly. The earliest

* See Morris's MS. Collection in Shrewsbury Museum.

of the family of Waghevens known is Henry, who died in 1483—the very year of the prohibitive statute. We cannot determine the relationship between him and Cornelis, but 1530 seems to be the earliest date of the latter. From Jacop, who ranges between 1542 and 1554, came the tongueless bell in Glasgow Tolbooth, called the St. Catherine bell, weighing about 5 cwt.; others of the family are recorded in my *Church Bells of Suffolk*.* At Vowchurch, Herefordshire; Peterhouse, Cambridge; and Rye, Sussex, also, are specimens of the work of the Low Countries.

The narrative has now been continued to about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the stream of history is somewhat broken by the Tudor tragedies. Much, of course, has been omitted in the foregoing sketch of the later Plantagenet period, which requires a volume to itself; but what has been recorded is enough to indicate what treasures of local, commercial, and ecclesiastical information yet remain to be brought to the surface, and to encourage new labourers to enter into the counties as yet imperfectly investigated.

* Pages 76, etc.



INITIAL LETTERS OF MONK RINGING AND OF TWO BELLS IN CHURCH SPIRE

FROM A FOURTEENTH CENTURY ALPHABETICAL COLLECTION ENTITLED *OMNE BONUM*

Royal MS. 6 [illegible]

CHAPTER XIII

THE TUDOR PERIOD

IF judgment is to be formed from some of our histories, the Reformation epoch would indeed have been, not only a blank in the production of bells, but a day of extinction for those existing. "Bells, rich in silver, still hung silent in remote church towers, or were buried in the vaults. . . . Some few peals of bells were spared for a time, but only under conditions of silence," says Mr. Froude.*

I suspect that there is nearly as slender a basis for the silence as for the silver. Somebody else tells us that only one bell was left in each tower. This I have just tested for Norfolk and Suffolk, with the result that at the present day in the former county there are seventy-eight churches, and in the latter eighty-one, in which hang more than one pre-Reformation bell. In two little Suffolk churches, Athelington and South Elmham St. Peter, hang the very three bells which are named in the returns of 1553. Dr. A. D. Tyssen makes a like remark about Sussex. Nevertheless, there were some bad cases in East Anglian parishes,† as elsewhere.

Monastery bells, of course, generally disappeared. They were useful for casting cannon, and from the county of

* *History of England*, v. 459.
† *Church Bells of Suffolk*, p. 91.

Lincoln alone the value of metal handed over to Mr. Charles Morris for this purpose amounted to £832. Much important detail on this subject is given in Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.** In a few cases the monastery bells were bought by parishioners of adjoining villages for their churches. The amount of bell metal brought into the market had its natural effect on price, so that it is no matter of surprise that Richard Bellasis wrote to Thomas Cromwell that he could only get fifteen shillings a hundredweight for those at Jervaulx Abbey. The Commissioners of 1553 did not ask for returns, but summoned the churchwardens before them. The original summons remains in the church chest of Bedingfield, Suffolk, requiring these officers to

"appere before the Kyng's ma^tie's^ sayde Comyssyoners at Ypswych the Secounde day of Maye next ensuenge before ix of the clocke. And that ye brynge before them (All excuses sett ap'te) All and everye suche p'cell of plate jewells metall or other ornamente (whatsoever they be) belongyng to yor churche chapell · Guylde Brotherhude ffraternytyes or cōpanyes as doe Remayne in yo custodye or of eny other psonne or psonnes to y^r^ knowledge the uses aforesayd as yow wyll answere upon othe. The grete Belles and Saunce Belles in the Steples only excepte."

Herein the procedure differed from that in 1547, when returns sufficed. Unfortunately, most of these earlier certificates have perished, only 179 from Essex and Suffolk remaining out of a thousand and more in the "Miscellaneous Books" of the Augmentation Office.† The Commissioners' Book for 1553 gives 1669 great bells, and 85 "Sancts" bells for Suffolk, without Ipswich and Thetford

* Pages 273, 420–422.

† No. 510.

St. Mary's, the grand total being 1812 against 1864 a few years ago. A similar result will be found in Norfolk, the gain in larger rings in towns more than counterbalancing the loss in cutting down the pretty little threes in villages.

Whatever might be the intentions of such Edwardian authorities as Somerset and Northumberland, the depredations show the action of local churchwardens rather than of the bureaucracy. The general stagnation of enterprise in the cataclysm which lasted from the breach between Henry VIII. and the Papacy till the accession of Elizabeth shows itself in the blank in Stahlschmidt's list between William Culverden, ob. 1522, and Robert Mot, of Whitechapel, whose earliest date is 1570. Norwich work collapsed between the death of the last of the Brasyers in 1513, and the enfranchisement of William Barker in 1530. He died in 1538, and after three years came a four years' flicker under Thomas Laurence. Then all subsides till the enfranchisement of John Brend, first of that family, in 1573. At Bury St. Edmund's there is a similar break between Roger Reve and Stephen Tonni.

The skilful Sir William Corvehill of Wenlock, who, among other arts, was a good bell founder and maker of frames,* lived on to 1546, with a possibly dull time of it in his later years. We get glimpses of Cuffe of Ilchester, *c.* 1540, from Bishop Hobhouse's *Somerset Church Wardens' Accounts*,† of Robert Cocke, or Coke, ten years later, from those of Framlingham, of two Londoners—John Owen, of Houndsditch, and Thomas Taxstede, from Mr. J. R. D. Tyssen's *Surrey Inventories*. But these exceptions and the like only substantiate the general result, that little or nothing was stirring till Elizabeth's time—indeed, till she had reigned some seven or eight years. The remembrance of the writ *de hæretico*

* Willis's *Current Notes*, 1856, p. 39. † iv. 204.

comburendo in action, the wild talk of those who would abolish all things which tended, according to their ideas, to "noryshe any kinde of superstition," the general unsettlement of the realm, took some time to work off.

Then about 1570 came a revival, and from that date till the Parliamentary war foundries had a busy time. Then John Wallis, of Salisbury, put his familiar initials on many a cheerful bell now sounding over the downs or in the vales of Wessex. Then a like work was done for East Anglia by John Brend, of Norwich, and Stephen Tonni, of Bury St. Edmund's. At Nottingham Robert Querneby and Henry Ovlfeld joined their forces, casting, with many others, the tenor of the eight which now hang in the west tower of Lincoln Cathedral.*

The foundry at Whitechapel had a struggle at first. In 1578 Robert Mot twice petitioned the Lord Treasurer for the payment of a debt of £10 10*s.* due to him for eight years past from Henry Howard, Esq., alleging that "your said poor orator is greatly impoverished and come into decay, and is likely every day to be arrested for such debts as he oweth." † He died in 1608, and divers of his bells remain in Surrey, the second at Fetcham being remarkable for bearing the Norwich sprigged shield used by the Brasyers, which we shall also find in evidence at Leicester. Here the foundry seems to have suffered less than most others from the Tudor troubles. Passing after the death of William Millers, of whom mention has been made, to Thomas Newcombe, who married the widow and died in 1520, it fell into the hands of the widow's third husband, Thomas Bett, a wealthy man,

* The Querneby family wants looking up. *V.* Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, p. 235.

† State papers in the Record Office, quoted by Tyssen, *Church Bells of Sussex*, p. 21.

who left his foundry to his son-in-law, Robert Newcombe. Three sons of this Robert were connected with their father's business, and they appear to have done remarkably well. Simultaneously with the later Newcombes were the three Wattses, Hugh I., Francis, and Hugh II., of whom the two latter used the Norwich sprigged shield. When North was writing his Leicestershire book he obtained a rubbing from South Luffenham, Rutlandshire, which turned out to read—

HEW WATTS MADE ME 1563.

In the following year Francis Watts bought the bell wheels from St. Peter's, Leicester, then being taken down. There must have been some connection with Norwich, the Brasyer lettering also appearing on some of these midland bells. A favourite inscription of the second Hugh was—

+ JHS : NAZARENVS : REX : IVDEORVM : FILI : DEI : MISERERE : MEI.

North says that there are still nearly ninety examples of this inscription remaining in Leicestershire, and that they were called "Watts's Nazarenes." The latest date for the Newcombes on a bell is 1617, so that their business was in some way absorbed by the house of Watts. We shall find the last of them engaged in making Old Tom o' Lincoln quite at the end of his career.

The village of Datchworth, near Welwyn, in Hertfordshire, had its foundry in the days of Queen Mary, when an inquiry was made in 1557 about the weight of the fourth bell at Graveley, which formerly belonged to the Priory of Wymondley. It was estimated at "xviij hundryth weyght and tht is with the most," by "a bell founder woos name is Clarke dwellyng at Thestwurth." The family seems to

have been dispersed, and John Clarke, whose bells are found, *c.* 1600, from Wrentham in Suffolk to Eastry in Kent, a son or grandson of the Datchworth man, as it would seem, is

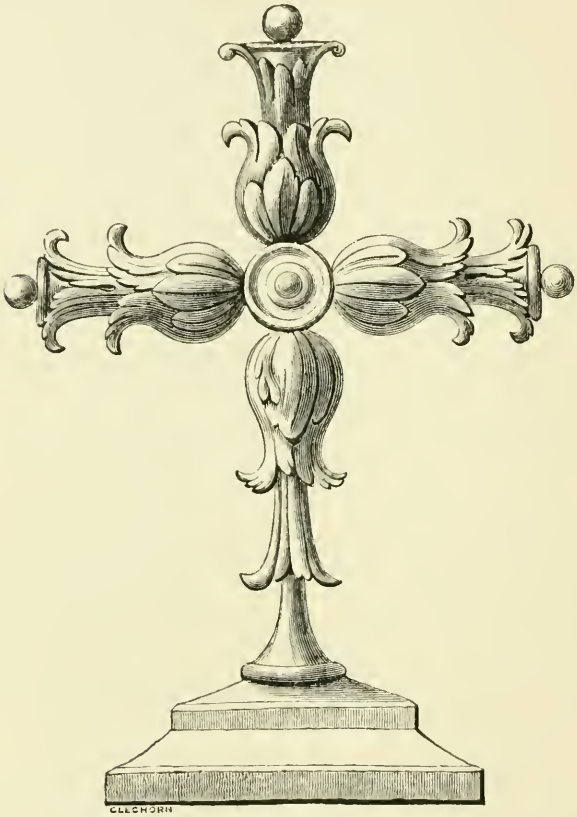


FIG. 45.

clearly itinerant. So is also the contemporaneous John Dier, ranging over Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire and Essex.

With Bury it is otherwise; and under Stephen Tonni the

old burgh of St. Edmund resumes the status which it possessed in the later Plantagenet period. The spelling of the surname in the previous generation had been Tonne. We find "Stephene tonne" at Stanstead, Suffolk, 1544, and "John

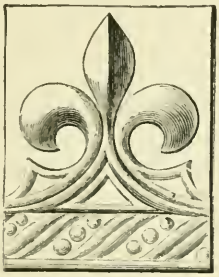


FIG. 46.

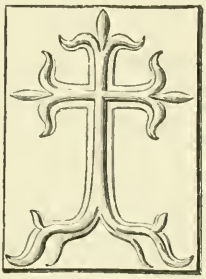


FIG. 47.

Tonne," the patriarch of the house, invariably. The marks used by the family (Figs. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49) have somewhat of a continental character.

Both these founders used a grand floriated cross and

FIG. 48.

FIG. 49.

other ornaments and medallions, some placed French fashion on the waist. This peculiarity, with the unusual surname, has credited the family with a French origin, and Stahlschmidt has suggested Antoine as the true surname. Our Stephen of Bury, however, has discarded the floriated cross,

and taken up with a small Roman type, and other ornaments, notably the crown and arrows of St. Edmund. His earliest bell, known to me, is that at Reepham, Norfolk, dated 1559, with a casting of the Crucifixion on the waist. At the beginning and end of the inscription are stamps of the seal for the subsidy of cloths for the county of Suffolk. This rather points to his brother, Julian Tonney, a weaver in Bury, who died in 1583, leaving what goods he might have to his brother Stephen, the founder. We have about forty bells from this foundry in East Anglia, mainly in Suffolk. The inscription on one of them, now recast, the tenor at Cockfield, fortunately was preserved by Flanders Green, and given to me in my boyhood—

MANE CITVS LECTVM FVGE MOLLEM DISCVTE SOMNVM
TEMPLVM APPROPINQVES ET VENERARE DEVM.

Two pairs of initials often are seen on this group—W. L. and T. D., William Land and Thomas Draper, both of whom deserve a word. How I obtained the name of the former I cannot recollect, though I have no instance of it on a bell till Stahlschmidt brought it to light from Surrey. Long before the Surrey book came out it was on my list. The earliest occurrence of the pair of initials is 1576, and the latest of the name of William Land is 1633, at Dulwich College Chapel. Mr. R. C. Hope gives 1638 as the date of his death. Probably, as suggested by our Surrey authority, there were three at least of the name—the first, William Lawnd, who in the Tudor upset purchased from Bermondsey parish "a crose of copper and other olde mettyll of lattyn . . . weying xlvj pound"; the second, the fellow-worker with Stephen Tonni and Thomas Draper; the third, the Surrey man of the Stuart period. It seems that Stephen Tonni and his companions

were working together at Wattisfield, Suffolk, in 1578, the parish book recording, "Itm the belfounders dyd dyne, thre of them...x^{d}." Perhaps one effect of their meal might have been the gift of poetry which shone so brightly when, in 1584, Land and Draper cast the present fourth in that tower, inscribed—

WL TD IN THE RAYNE
OF QVENE ELSEBETH BIS XIII.

This bell was cast at "fetfor" (Thetford), and the removal of the foundry from Bury necessitated a conscientious clipping of St. Edmund's arrows from Tonni's stamp, and the transference of his fleur-de-lis from an oblong to a lozenge. Thomas Draper, however, reverted to the oblong, but with another fleur-de-lis. In the Armada year he cast the sixth for Redenhall, Norfolk, thought by some to be the finest bell of that grand eight. It is a surprise to find his name on a small bell at Hutton-in-the-Forest, Cumberland, also dated 1588; but the recollection of him may have been the motive for entrusting the second at Kirkoswald, in the same county, to William Land in 1619. The Draper family, whether related to our Thomas or not, had an early connection with Thetford, John Draper being mayor in 1409, and Bartholomew Draper in 1439. The bellfounder Thomas was sworn into the mayoralty October 17, 1592. As may be read in my *Church Bells of Suffolk*,* his office was not free from cares, and he did little business. He cast Stradishall tenor in 1593, and Yaxley tenor in 1594, but the old fourth at Hepworth, made in the former year, bore the name of "Thomas Draper the younger." He died in 1595, leaving six sons. From the eldest, Thomas, we have hardly anything; but the third son,

* Page 101.

John, had a long and successful career in the Stuart period. The treble at St. Cuthbert's, Thetford, bears—

Thomas Draper Mayer

with a crown.

In Shropshire the earliest dated bell is the second at Easthorpe, from an unknown hand, inscribed—

THE GIFT OF RICHERD LVTWICH OF LVTWICH. 1584.

At Buckingham a founder named John Appowell has been shown by Mr. Cocks * to have bought the great bell of Thame in 1552. He was much involved in lawsuits, was bayliff of the town in 1569, and churchwarden in 1572. He died in 1577, and was succeeded by his son George. The Reading foundry, which was removed from Wokingham, passed through the management of John White and John Saunders. The latter, about whom there is some curious and interesting detail in respect of his trade and his chattels, died in 1559; then after a gap came Joseph Carter. But another foundry, which, from evidence adduced by Mr. Cocks, seems to have originated from this Wokingham immigrant, produced a large number of good bells in Berks, Bucks, Hants, Wilts, Dorset, etc., in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The same authority speaks of some three hundred still in existence from various members of the Knight family, ranging from a certain John Knyght who in 1498 was paid vj^{d} for "makyng of a bawdryk" for St. Laurence, Reading, to Samuel Knight, who is described in his will proved in 1739 as of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

The Gloucester foundry disappears for a century and a half after the death of Richard Atkyns in 1529. In Dorset there were two brothers (as it seems), John and George Poole,

* *Church Bells of Bucks*, p. 174.

who in 1580 cast a bell for Colyton, Devon. The bond remains in the possession of the feoffees of the parish. They are described as of "Yeatmyster in comitatu Dorset," but there is nothing that can be traced to them.

By general consent, Richard Bowler, a very good workman, is located at Colchester. He is only found in Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire. His bold Roman lettering certainly resembles that used at Colchester afterwards. I suspect him to be the "Dick Baker bell-founder," to whom the following lines were addressed by one F. D.:—

"Could I mould and file and tune my Lines as well,
As thou canst mould and file and tune thy Bell,
My Muse should higher towre than Latham's Faulcon
And make all Faulkners and Bell-makers baulk on
This book; and thy well-wrought both Bell and Varvell
And hearing th' one and viewing th' other, marvell.
Thence she should mount more high than vap'rous Cloud,
And ring thy prayse in ye vast Ayre more lowd
Then silver Bells: so stooping to the ground
At sowse shee should dull ignorance confound." *

From the style of writing, Mr. Walters judges the piece not earlier than the Restoration, but the spelling seems to be that of the opening of the seventeenth century, and I would suggest that this is a copy of a Jacobean original. "Varvells" are the silver rings about a hawk's legs, and "sowse" is the moment of pouncing. Richard Bowler's range is 1583–1620, as far as we know.

Contemporary with his first years of work was the brief period of Henry Topsell, of Beccles, a beautiful nautical name. He used to place the name of the parish to which bells belonged on them. In 1585 he cast the fourth for Cratfield,

* Harl. MSS. Catalogue I. 213 (I. 367-8).

which still hangs there with "Cratfeld" on it, and in the same year one for Hedenham, Norfolk, inscribed "Hednam," now in Kirby Bedon tower, having been sold to that parish when the Hedenham four were run into six in 1838. A marriage licence for him* and Elizabeth Andrewes of Beccles, was granted in the same year. But the next year was disastrous to the dwellers in Beccles by reason of the great fire there on November 29. Henry Topsel with his son Roger, whose initials are usual on his father's bells, passed from Suffolk to Sussex, and after an interval of fourteen years we find H.T. on the second at Bury in that county, and names of Henry and Roger at Felpham in 1600. Their foundry was at West Tarring, where the father was buried, October 5, 1604.

No bells have yet been found bearing the name or the initials of Valentyne Trevor, probably a metropolitan. His name, however, remains in the accounts of St. Margaret's Westminster, for 1592, and the entry shows that we have nothing to deplore in the absence of his works, it being stated that the bells were "falsely and deceytfully made by Valentyne Trevor." In Kent was one Giles Reve, who cannot be located, and Thomas Hatch, probably of Ulcombe. Some seven by the former remain in the county, and only two (whereof one is cracked) by the latter, both dated 1599. In the north one Bellingham occurs in the Doncaster church accounts for 1579; and there are a few more of whom we have traces up and down the country. From these notices it will be seen that there was no great prosperity after the blaze of earlier Elizabethan days had died out.

A new revival came after the Stuart settlement. Change-ringing of a primitive order gave an impetus to parishes,

* The name is Toopsell in the licence, with Tapsell in the margin.

which began to vie one with another in the number and quality of the tenants of their towers. No better example can be found than at Ulcombe. In the place of Thomas Hatch came, in the very beginning of the seventeenth century, his son Joseph. Their lineal descendant, Mr. James T. Hatch, of Lenham, was in correspondence with Stahlschmidt.* For thirty-seven or thirty-eight years Joseph Hatch wrought mainly in his county, doing "a business which may fairly be described as enormous." † That this epithet is no exaggeration may be understood by the fact that at this day there remain one hundred and fifty-five of his bells, and in five churches—Boughton Malherbe, Fordwich, High Halden, Waltham, and Wouldham—are complete rings. He died in September, 1639, just escaping the dead time of the Parliamentary war, "full of years, riches, and honour," as is demonstrated by his will, having, as it seems, already handed over the foundry to his nephew, William Hatch, whose initials appear on many of the uncle's bells. This Ulcombe foundry had to contend, not only against the near metropolis, but also against the nearer parish of Borden, where John Wilnar, a man not to be despised, was settled. From him there are still seventy-two bells in Kentish towers.

The Purdues require much investigation. Lukis ‡ placed them at Salisbury, but the Wells records, as quoted by Ellacombe,§ are clear about Roger, who in 1624 cast three bells for St. Cuthbert's, Bristol, for he is described as "of the cyttie of Bristoll, bell founder." Next comes William, from whom, generally acting in company with another, came many bells. He ranged through the Parliamentary period to the Restoration. We find him in conjunction with Roger, with

* *Church Bells of Kent*, p. 74. † Page 76.
‡ Page 12. § *Church Bells of Devon*, p. 57.

Thomas, with Nathaniel Bolter, and with Frances Foster. Thus we get an indication of Salisbury, after a time. One Symon Purdue, of Winchester, had a son George, born in 1580, who may have been a Bristol citizen.

The Purdue bells have a deservedly good reputation, but not equal to that which is accorded to the works of the prince of founders, Miles Graye, of Colchester. His family had long been connected with that historic borough. Miles Graye's name occurs in highway rates as early as 1567; perhaps the father of our man, whose earliest bell date, known to me, is 1605, on the fourth at St. Matthew's, Ipswich. There are ninety bells of his in Suffolk alone, and many in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. In 1637 he was at Saffron Walden, where he made a bell for Ickford, Herts. His widespread reputation reached as far as to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for he cast the tenor for that parish church in his own foundry at Colchester in 1615; and in the opposite direction to Chiddingly in Sussex, where he cast the treble in 1634. But Suffolk contains three of his masterpieces—the eleventh, formerly the tenor, at St. Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich, 1610; the Stowmarket tenor, 1622; and his *chef-d'œuvre*, the Lavenham tenor, 1625. The ringing pilgrim, John Carr, when he first heard her, said, "She came in with such a noble sound that she vibrated a perfect octave," and he is not the only one who has observed the absence of overtones. I have been told that she varies with the weather. So far as I can conclude, the peculiarity seems thinness, especially at the crown. His falling off in business is painfully indicative of the troubled period of the Parliamentary war. Little was done after 1641. When, in 1648, the Cavaliers of Kent, Hertfordshire, and Essex entered Colchester, Fairfax let them "stew in their own juice," having first failed in an attack on

Headgate. Miles Graye's "capital messuage or tenement . . . scituate and being below Headgate, in Colchester," was burned down, as we find from his will, proved on June 23, 1649, five weeks and three days after his death. The poor old man describes himself as "weak in body and crased with age, but yet in p'fect mind and memory." The registers of St. Mary-at-Walls, Colchester, are a blank from 1642 to 1653, no unusual thing; but we have the entries of the baptisms of two sons—Christopher, 1625, and Myles, 1628—both of whom followed their father's calling.* The old man spells his name "Moyles," when he certifies the registers as churchwarden. "Milonem Graye me fecit" is not uncommon on some of his bells, his grammar being not so good as his craft-skill. This is rather remarkable, for the family held a good position, Sir Miles Graye, Kt., having in 3 James I. conveyed a messuage to Edward Abdey, Mary his wife, and Thomas May.† His loyalty to Charles II. was not diminished by his surroundings, for in the borough records, under date March 18, 1649, is mentioned, "Miles Gray's orchard in S^t. Mary-at-Walls within ye suburdes (*sic*) of ye Towne next garden of S^r. Thomas Lucas, Kn^t.," the well-known defender of Colchester in the Royalist interest.

With regard to Puritans, it may be noted that William Gurnall, M.A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the well-known author of *The Christian in Compleat Armour*, was at Lavenham from 1639 to 1679, and in that work there are two pertinent allusions: "'Tis harder to get a great Bell up, than to Ring it when 'tis raised,"‡ and "If the Bells which call us to the worship of God, were to give them notice of a Wrestling,

* There is another Christopher, son of Edward, born 1618; but Miles's son must surely have been the founder.

† *East Anglian*, 3rd Series, VIII., 54.

‡ 6th edition, p. 349.

Foot-ball, or drunken Wake, O how soon should we have them flock together? but Prayers and Sermon they care not for." * Gurnall, who was a native of Lynn, must have often heard the celebrated "Margaret" bell at Lynn, recast in 1663.

Though there are so many Colchester bells in Norfolk and Suffolk, it was not from slackness at Norwich, Thetford, and Bury St. Edmund's in the earlier Stuart days. At Norwich was William Brend, son of the John already mentioned, and the possible grandson of another William, "one of the syngyng men of the Cathedral," who was examined in 1548 touching certain verses by "Echo," "Nemo," and "Vincent Veryte," objecting to the mayor, etc., of Norwich.† John Brend's relations with the municipality may have been more amicable, but he died in 1582, "Greatlie indetted unto diūse men in diūse somes of money." William Brend's business lay mainly in the east of East Anglia. Of some ninety bells of his in Suffolk, only one belongs to the western division of the county; while in Norfolk there are far more in the east than in the west. None of them bear his name, only his initials, sometimes joined with those of his brother John, sometimes with his son John, but more often in monogram with his wife's, Alice—A.B. over W. in a shield, alternating occasionally with the arms of the city. Not long ago I was shown a 1575 Bible, which had W. over A.B. written on the New Testament title-page: also "Matt Wilby owe this booke," and "John Buckenham," both in old writing.‡ From parishioners presenting Mrs. Brend with money "in reward," we may conclude her to have merited the introduction of her

* Page 399. † *Eastern Counties Collectania*, pp. 171–175.

‡ This Bible was in the possession of the Quantrill family, and now belongs to Mrs. Mullenger, of Weybread, Suffolk.

initial in the monogram. William Brend died in 1634, leaving his chattels to her, his gear to his son John, and the rest divided between the two. John had really been doing the foundry work; for instance, at Dennington, Suffolk, the fourth bell bears the double initials, but in the parish book John is the founder, while "Ould Brend" superintended the hanging. This was in 1628, and six years before that the agreement about the Framlingham old fourth was made with John. The son's bells are better than the father's, some of them, as the Cratfield tenor, cast in 1637, being of unusually fine tone. In Norfolk there are some ninety of them, but not many in Suffolk.

John Draper, of Thetford, seems to have married into the Brend family, for in his will he calls John Brend, of Norwich, his brother, and there is no daughter named in the will of his father, Thomas Draper. From comparison of dates we may see how the old Bury business went to Thetford, dominating largely in West Norfolk, West Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. Like his brother-in-law, whom we find casting at Aylsham, he itinerated, casting at Wells, for Beeston, in 1606, "divers neighbours of the towne and Beeston-next-Mileham accompanyinge them merily together."* The fifth at Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire, is undoubtedly his, and is inscribed **made at Cambridge.** The date is 1618, as also that of the tenor at St. Benedict's, Cambridge, inscribed—

"John Draper made me in 1618
This bell was broake and cast againe
As plainly doth apeare.
Wich time Chvrchwardens were
Edwarde Dixson for the one whoe stode close by his tacklin,
And he that was his partner then was Alexander Jacklin."

* L'Estrange, p. 99.

Here, again, we cannot fail to be charmed by the poetic gift as strong as that of Dr. Ginery Dunkle in *Martin Chuzzlewit.* In tone these Thetford bells are not remarkable. John Draper died in 1644.

The Stamford foundry supplied much to Lincolnshire and the adjoining counties. The enfranchisement of Tobie, or Tobias Norris, was in 1607, but he cast the tenor for Sutton St. James four years before this. There is a brass to his memory in St. George's Church, Stamford, recording his death, November 2, 1626. A son of the same name disappears from that town, but may be the Tobias Norris, of the city of Dublin, gent., an executor to the will of Samuel Clarke, 1642.* Another son, Thomas, cast some good bells up and down the country, but his municipal relations were not happy, and he retired from his native town in 1678, the year in which he made the sweet tenor at Fakenham, Norfolk. Then came, after a while, Alexander Rigby,† immortalized on the treble at Badgeworth, Gloucestershire—

> "Badgworth ringers they were mad
> Because Rigbe made me bad:
> But Abel Rudhall you may see
> Hath made me better than Rigbe."

His death ended the Stamford foundry.

Of the Keenes of Woodstock there is little at present to be said. In the north of England, the frequency of recasting in towns, for new rings of eight and more, has reduced the number of bells made in the seventeenth century. In Cumberland is a puzzling inscription, at Harrington. It is read **Sancte Se Solute Sonore.** C. W. I. W. 1 P. MT. 1674 VT.

* *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1895, p. 259.

† Perhaps descended from another A. R., M.P. for Wigan in the Long Parliament.

Whatever it means, the lettering is a survival. George Lees and Edmund Wright, as yet only names, were casting at Carlisle in 1613. Even in great Yorkshire there is comparatively little to record. At the Restoration there were two foundries in York, James Smith's and William Seller's, and both went on far into the eighteenth century. North and Poppleton name one Augustine Bowler, of Wath-upon-Dearne. He made the "little bell" for Kirton-in-Lindsey in 1629, and North suggests that he may have been related to Richard Bowler. But we must pass from the Stuart period.

CHAPTER XIV

LATER FOUNDERS

THE progress in bell-ringing, and the consequent increase of bells in England experienced no sensible interruption, after the Parliamentary War. There was no repetition of the perfunctory peal at St. Mary's, Cambridge, after the execution of Charles I., the parish accounts stating, "we being thereto commanded by the Justices." In London there was the Whitechapel foundry which had passed from Robert Mot through the Carters to the Bartletts, of whom James, the last, died in 1701. There was also an opposition foundry in the metropolis, conducted by John Hodson, whose earliest date is 1654. At first he had a foreman, William Hull, whose initials are on most of his bells, who afterwards settled at South Malling, Sussex, where he died in 1687. After Hull's departure, Christopher Hodson, probably John's son, takes his place, and John and Christopher sometimes appear together, till 1677, when Christopher started at St. Mary Cray, doing a brisk business for ten years; his most notable performance being "Mighty Tom" of Oxford in 1680, which happily sounds now as in the days of Dean Aldrich.

William Wightman was foreman to John Hodson in 1653,*

* *Surrey Bells*, etc., p. 99, note.

but after a while he sometimes left his initials on bells, as on the "ting-tang" at Enfield in 1680. After him came Philip Wightman, whom I stated to have been managing the Whitechapel foundry,* whereas I should have said "a London foundry." He cast a ring of six for Mortlake in 1694–5, and with him ends the foundry once Hodson's. It fared far otherwise with the Whitechapel foundry, which, after the Bartletts, had a glorious time under Richard Phelps. Lukis † proves that he was a native of Avebury, Wilts, from the inscription on the tenor there, "Richard Phelps, London, Nat. par. hujus 1719." He may have been a Salisbury apprentice, for Wallis's business went on under John Danton, Frances Foster, and two men named Flower or Flowry, and in 1666 came from Salisbury two bells at South Damerham, which record the fire of London, the tenor naming the year as "of Plagve, Warre, and Fire," while the third gives a rhyme—

OVR · THREE · BECAME · FIVE.
WHEN · FEW · ELS · DID · THRIVE. 1666.

Richard Phelps's earliest date is at Burham, Kent, 1700, before James Bartlett's death, for whom he seems to have been acting. For nearly forty years he sent forth bells from Whitechapel. Kent has nearly ninety of them still, a few being entire rings, and Surrey more in proportion. In Suffolk there are just over a score, but among them the eight at St. Mary's, Bury, where he spliced in the present fourth, a William Brend. The tenor weighs 24 cwt., in D sharp, a fine bell. His earliest in Suffolk, the Charsfield treble, 1710, must not be passed over, as a historic monument. In that year the land was ringing with the name

* *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, p. 99. † Page 110.

of Doctor Sacheverell, against whom Bishop Trimnell, of Norwich, had taken a prominent part in the House of Lords; but Sir William Leman, of Charsfield, was otherwise minded, and I give the mangled inscription on the bell, as it appears in Carthew's MS., without attempting to translate it—

> SIC SACHEVERELLVS [ORE MELOS] IMMORTALI OLLI [ECCLESIÆ DEFENSORI H] ANC DICAT [GVLIELMVS] LEMAN DE CHER[SFIELD EQVES. 1710. R. PHELPS].

Phelps did little in Herts, hardly anything in Lincolnshire and the Midlands; but at Enfield the lower six of the eight, and at Cambridge the eight middle bells of the twelve at St. Mary the Great, bear witness to his skill. He was succeeded by Thomas Lester, his foreman, to whom he bequeathed his implements and business and the lease of the foundry. The surname often occurs in the rolls of the Founders' Company, as far back as the sixteenth century.* Lester's earliest date is 1738, and his latest 1750, but the name of Thomas Pack appears with his at Holy Trinity, Guildford, in 1749, and in many places for twenty years afterwards. He died in 1769, when Pack took William Chapman, Lester's nephew, into partnership. A few bells are found bearing the three names, then Pack and Chapman appear by themselves till 1780. Lester had removed the foundry from Phelps's site to "The Artichoke," which the new firm renamed "The Three Bells." I was fortunate enough in my boyhood to fall in with a list, headed by three bells, respectively inscribed PERCUTE, DULCE, CANO—

* Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, etc., p. 103.

"Lester Pack & Chapman,
Bell Founders
At the Three Bells in Whitechapel
London
Have cast the following bells and peals since August, 1738,
The Number of Bells in each Peal and weight of the Tenor
Bell Dunstan at the Cathedral Church Canterbury
Weight 70 c."

Then follows a catalogue of 114 castings, from which I extract some of the most important, viz. two in large print, tens at St. Mary le Bow and York Minster, each with a tenor of 53 cwt.; also "For the Elector of Cologne 18 musical bells, the largest 2 cwt."; "Petersburg in Russia, 7 bells, tenor 17 cwt.; Christ Church in Philadelphia, 8 bells, tenor 18 cwt.; St. Martin's, Birmingham, 12 bells, tenor 36 cwt.; Beccles, Suffolk, 10 bells, tenor 28 cwt.; Charlestown, S. Carolina, 8 bells, tenor 18 cwt.; Lynn St. Margaret's, 8 bells, tenor 30 cwt., and St. Nicholas, 8 bells, tenor 16 cwt.; Manchester St. John's, 8 bells, tenor 20 cwt.; St. Giles, Cripplegate, 10 bells, 36 cwt." The list deserves printing in full, but would occupy too much space. Thomas Pack died in 1781. In my undergraduate days I made the acquaintance of an old lady at Cambridge, a Mrs. Skinner, who told me that she was Chapman's niece, and that once, when her uncle was at work for a Kent church, he noticed a young man who took such a lively interest in what was going on, that he came to Whitechapel and learnt the business, starting at first for himself, as it appears from his casting bells at Godstone and Tandridge, Surrey, in 1777, but afterwards joining with Chapman. This was William Mears, who, after Chapman's death in 1784, brought from Canterbury his brother Thomas, said to have been a brewer there, and the names of the two brothers are found together

till 1791, *e.g.* the fourth at Ightham, Kent, is inscribed, "W. & T. Mears, late Lester Pack & Chapman of London fecit 1789." Thomas Mears then held the business by himself till 1805, when his son Thomas joined him. The latter had from 1810 a run of more than thirty years by himself, the greatest of his works in that time being Great Tom of Lincoln in 1835. Then came the two sons of Thomas II., Charles and George, and so the Whitechapel foundry passed to Stainbank, and from him to Lawson.

Whitechapel was not the only London foundry in the eighteenth century. Samuel Knight came from Reading and started a foundry, as Stahlschmidt thinks, in Shoe Lane. His bells are described as roughly cast, but exceptionally fine in tone. He was succeeded by Robert Catlin. Then there was Thomas Janaway's foundry in Chelsea, and that of Robert Patrick, who married Lester's granddaughter, an opposition shop in Whitechapel. Of later London founders it is hardly within my sphere to speak.

After a break of a century and a half bell-founding was resumed at Gloucester, under Abraham Rudhall (or Riddall, as he first spells the name *), a local surname, apparently traceable to Rudhall, or Roodhall, near Ross. His earliest date is 1684, and he was assisted by a son of the same name, who used the same pretty running patterns and a bell stamp, to which this epithet cannot be applied. As the father died January 25, 1735–6, according to the mural monument in Gloucester Cathedral, and the son predeceased the father by a month, if we are to accept Ellacombe's statement,† we

* The tendency to substitute ĭ for ŭ is widespread. People named Rush in Fressingfield are often called Rish.

† *Church Bells of Gloucestershire*, p. 79. Among some startling assertions here is one which makes the son's will proved before his death.

cannot conclude to whether of the twain we owe the later bells of the Rudhall first half-century. Then came Abel, third son of the second Abraham, who revived the foundry after a collapse of some eighteen years. He also used the running patterns and A ♙ B. Among other debts of gratitude which we bell-lovers owe to Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks is the insertion of part of a letter, dated March 30th, 1759, written by Abel Rudhall to the Buckinghamshire antiquary, Browne Willis. Its main subject is the bells of Wells Cathedral, cast by him in 1757, but he deals with his grandfather's work at Bletchley, for here had been placed a five in 1712, with such inscriptions as might have been expected from Browne Willis, and the five had become an octave in 1718. The writer says, "I remember to have heard *Blechley Bells*, but it is *so long since*, that I can't account much for them, *any more* than I thought them a *very good Peal*, & the *Tenor* I suppose *can't cost* 20l the casting *only without Addition of metal*. . . . Your much obliged & most humble servant, *Abel Rudhall*." * Then came a third Abraham, a mercer, a brother Thomas, another brother Charles, and a half-brother John, the foundry belonging all the time, after the mercer's death, to his daughter, who in 1829 let it to Thomas Mears, after whose death the Gloucester business became merged in Whitechapel.

There can be no doubt as to the general excellency of the Rudhall bells. Ellacombe has preserved their "Catalogue † of Bells Cast from 1684 to 1830," the total number being 4521, comprising four twelves — St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. Bride's, Painswick, and Cirencester; tens at Manchester College; Christ Church, Bristol; Wrexham; Fulham; St.

* *Church Bells of Bucks*, p. 320.
† *Church Bells of Gloucester*, p. 75.

Chad's, Shrewsbury; All Saints', Worcester; Bath Abbey Church; New Church, Macclesfield; Ashton-under-Lyne; and eighty-two peals of eight, with sixes, fives, etc. Among the eights is Halton, Warwickshire, where Dr. Parr was vicar. He writes to his old pupil, Thomas Cottle, August 26, 1807, "I must stop at Glo'ster, and give some directions at the foundery about my bells." *

At Closworth, Somerset, there was a little foundry about the middle of the eighteenth century, belonging to John Smith. At Collumpton much more was done by the two Thomas Bilbies. The elder of this pair was also at work at Chewstoke, Somerset, in 1734. Two other members of the family were William and Abraham. From the hands of one or other of the Bilbies there are 352 bells in Devonshire alone. Their inscriptions record their co-operators, as at Collumpton, 1746—

> "Bilbie the Founder. Bush the Hanger.
> Heathfield's the man that rings the tenor."

Next year there was a change, as recorded at Kenton—

> "Bilbie the Founder. Rugg the Hanger.
> Carter the Smith and treble ringer."

A rival, Evans of Chepstow, is not behindhand in couplet-making, and transmits to posterity a real or imaginary victory on the fifth at Backwell, Somerset—

> "Bilby and Boosh may come & see
> What Evans & Nott have done by me. 1758."

Another rival firm was the Cockey family. The first of the name, Mordecai, did a little casting at Totness, and died at Plymouth in 1725, when we get William at Frome, where

* Warner's *Literary Recollections*, ii. 184.

the foundry lasted a century. To judge from Bilbie's kindly notice of him on the second at Dunkerton, Somerset, 1732, his earlier operations were not always successful—

> "Before I was a broke I was as good as aney,
> But when that Cokey casted I near was worth a penny."

The West-country Penningtons were largely itinerant. Ellacombe tells us that they lived on the borders of Devonshire and Cornwall, at Lezant and Stoke Climsland, and he blames them for hacking away portions of towers in order to squeeze their peals in. We have Thomas Pennington also at Exeter, who took for a trade-mark an archaic type of bell, so transparent as to show the connection of the loop-handle and clapper. From him and others of the same name are remaining many bells in their part of the world, Ellacombe counting up 480 in Devonshire alone, between 1710 and 1818. The earliest date for Thomas Pennington is 1618, on the tenor at Eggesford. His foundry predecessor was probably John Byrdan.*

Of Joshua Kipling of Portsmouth I know next to nothing. Walking round the Isle of Wight in 1852, I found that there had been a five of his at Brixton, dated 1740, when the whole country was ringing (in more senses than one) with the fame of Admiral Vernon and Portobello. This victory, over party spite as well as foreign foes, took place on November 29, 1739, and is duly commemorated by the impressions of the obverse and reverse of the well-known Vernon medal on the second bell, with the foundry stamp, "Joshua Kipling fecit" in a circle, surrounding a bell. The inscription is, "God preserve the British armes." The treble, recast by the

* Ellacombe, *Church Bells of Devon*, p. 56. He gives 1613 as the date on p. 115, but this is most likely a misprint.

elder Thomas Mears in 1800, bears the words: "In the year 1740 John Lord zealous for the promotion of Campanologia's art cavsed me to be fabricated in Portsmouth and placed in this tower. 60 years I led the peal when I was unfortunately broken in the year 1800. I was cast in the furnace, refounded in London and returned to my former station. Reader thou also shalt know a Resurrection. May it be unto eternal life." Besides these Brixton bells are three in Sussex from Joshua Kipling, the bell at Eastergate, 1737, the treble at Stedham, 1741, and that at Racton, 1742. Perhaps some more will be discovered in Hampshire.

Our difficulties at Chalcomb, or Chacombe, in Northamptonshire, are of another kind. Here for nearly a century and a half wrought the family of Bagley. Like some others, they passed from the smithy to the foundry. The earliest date recorded by Mr. Cocks is 1632, and the latest 1779. They were not tied permanently to the village near Banbury. Northampton, Wolverhampton, Ecton, St. Giles Cripplegate, have the name on their bells. In the end their business apparently died a natural death. The members of the house of Bagley who bore the name of Henry are a riddle. Six appear in Mr. Cocks's pedigree. I can only quote his words: "Mr. North failed to sort them out when working Northampts; the future chronicler of Oxfordshire will have the next best opportunity of unravelling the tangle." I copy these words, having only just heard of the death of our lamented Oxfordshire fellow-labourer, the Rev. H. T. Tilley. The Bagleys' bells abound in running ornamentation, and my impression of the quality of those I have heard is favourable.

Mr. Cocks regards the Leicester foundry of the Newcombes as having a branch at Bedford, and James Keene as

having removed thence to Woodstock. Besides these, Bedfordshire contributed but one foundry to our list, at the village of Wootton, five miles south-west of the county town, where in 1715, Thomas Russell, clock and watchmaker, began his fusorial labours without abandoning his original craft, for the entry of his burial, January 22, 1744–5, describes him as "Clock-maker and Bell-founder." Two sons of his, Thomas and William, placed their names on a few bells, but discontinued the business after their father's death. After the lapse of a quarter of a century, William Emerton, who hesitates between spelling his surname with single or double *m*, revived the work, and is said to have been ruined by the failure of the parish of St. John the Baptist, Bedford, to pay for their bells. This seems rather strange, for that tower now only boasts a Whitechapel bell of 1827.

But if Bedford produced no eminent founder it glories in no less eminent a ringer than John Bunyan, whose Elstow experiences need not be repeated here. Lest, however, he should be thought insensible to the charm of bell music, I will give in the poetry chapter some lines of his from *A Book for Boys and Girls, or Country Rhymes for Children*, published in 1686.*

A long collapse at Leicester was broken by a short flicker of life in the works of Thomas Clay, from whom came two bells in that county in 1711, and the Southwell Minster eight about the same time. They effectually damaged his reputation, so that in 1721 the whole were recast by Abraham Rudhall, who expressed his gratitude by "Prosperity to the town" on the third, "Prosperity to this chapter" on the sixth, and "Prosperity to the Church of England" on the seventh. Then came a seventy years' chasm, terminated by the

* In *East Anglian*, N.S., iii. 275.

enterprise of Edward Arnold. The break-up of the Kettering foundry in 1761, which had been started in 1717 by a son of a clockmaker there, Thomas, son of Thomas Eayre, and ended in the bankruptcy of a third Thomas in 1761, brought this about. For Joseph Eayre, the bankrupt's next brother, had already started at St. Neot's, and his cousin Arnold helped him. When Joseph died, Thomas Osborn, the foreman, and Arnold worked together some ten years. Then they separated, Arnold starting an additional business at Leicester and Osborn going to Downham Market. One might have expected the former to have absorbed the business, but the contrary was the result, and the works of Osborn and his grandson William Dobson resound from many a tower, and in my opinion thoroughly deserve their reputation. The Downham list fell in my way in my youth, and I have my copy of it, headed, "A List of the Peals of Bells that have been cast at the Foundery (*sic*) of Willm Dobson Church Bell Founder & Hanger at Downham, Norfolk." It contains seventy-two peals, all over the country—the most distant from headquarters being three in the Island of St. Vincent and five in Dublin Post Office. Then there are sixes at Beaumaris and Llandegai, eight at Poole and six at Sturminster Newton, Dorset, three Yorkshire eights, Birstall, Liversedge, and Elland, eight at Camberwell, and plenty in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire. His greatest work was the twelve at St. Nicholas, Liverpool, tenor 41 cwt. I have been told that the Liverpool folk were determined to rival St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, bell for bell, but that they tied Dobson down too tightly, so that his heaviest peal is not his best. There is a very fine ten in the Norman Tower, Bury St. Edmund's, tenor 30 cwt., Osborn's casting in 1785. He died in 1806, and his grandson, who prospered

more in reputation than in finance, in 1833 sold his business to the Whitechapel men, and died in the Charterhouse, July 11, 1842, aged 63, as may be read on his tombstone in Downham churchyard.

Meantime, one Robert Taylor, formerly apprenticed to Arnold, took the St. Neot's foundry from his old master. This was towards the end of the eighteenth century, and shortly after Waterloo he co-opted his son John. But St. Neot's was perhaps a little out of the way. Oxford had some attractions, and thither the Taylor family removed, the elder brother William joining with John. They call themselves "Church Clock & Chime Makers" on the treble at Calverton, Bucks, dated 1822. There was one Symondson, a first-rate handbell founder, as many ringers know, who seems to have been partner with them for a little time. In 1840 came the separation of the brothers. A Kettering six in All Saints, Loughborough, when the Rev. William Holme was rector, was to be recast and augmented to eight. Loughborough people would not have their bells moved. John Taylor had to imitate Mahomet, and go to that granite mountain. His success led to other work from the vicinity, and there now is the foundry whence have come glorious bells of which it is not my province to treat.

Sons were sometimes more successful than their fathers, and if John Darbie of East Anglian fame was the son of Michael Darbie of Southwark, as is likely from dates, he will serve as an instance. Michael Darbie, I am informed, came from Kelsale, Suffolk. He was wandering about in the Commonwealth time. In 1651 and 1652 he was at Eynesford and Boxley in Kent; in 1655 at King's Sutton, Northamptonshire; and in 1657 at Oxford, as we learn from Anthony à Wood.

"A. W. his mother and his two brothers Rob. and Christopher Wood, gave 5ll to Merton Coll. towards the casting of their five bells into eight. These five were antient bells and had been put up into the tower at the first building thereof, in the time of Dr. Hen. Abendon, Warden of Merton Coll., who began to be Warden in 1421. The tenor or great bell (on which the name of the said Abendon was put) was supposed to be the best bell in England, being, as 'twas said, of fine mettal silver found.* The generality of people were much against the altering of that bell, and were for a treble to be put to the five, and so make them six: and old Sarjeant Charles Holloway, who was a very covetous man, would have given money to save it. . . . But by the knavery of Thom. Jones, the subwarden (the warden being then absent) and . . . Derby the bell-founder they were made eight." †

Later on, we find this miserable artificer in Norfolk, at Mileham and Feltwell, in 1661. At the same time we have John Darbie's earliest date. His reputation seems assured by 1662, when the Yarmouth authorities sent our "fifty bell" to Darby of Ipswich by water "to be new run." ‡ His bells abound in East Anglia, of fine tone, and he must have had a busy time of it during his twenty years of labour.

For a few years Edward Tooke had a foundry at Norwich on All Saints' Green, whence the approach to Surrey Street is called Foundry Yard. His father kept his shrievalty in 1650 in Tooke's Wood, still called Tuck's Wood, in Lakenham. His bells, of good quality, are confined to Norfolk. Samuel Gilpin and Charles Newman, who successively followed Tooke, have left a few poor bells. The latter certainly cast at Haddenham and Lynn for St. Michael's, Cambridge, in 1683 and 1684.

* The universality of this error is wonderful.—J. J. R.

† See my *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, p. 90. Unfortunately "Derby's" Christian name is missing.

‡ Palmer, *Perlustration of Great Yarmouth*, iii. 14.

His son Thomas was born at Haddenham in 1682, where remains a curious tradition about one of the two, preserved by the Rev. J. M. Freeman, Vicar of Playford, near Ipswich, formerly Curate of Haddenham.

"An old inhabitant recalls a tradition of his early youth, some fifty years since, to the effect that there lived a bell-founder in this place in the olden time; and that on one memorable occasion, when the operation of melting the metal had reached a critical stage, it was found that there was deficiency in the supply of material; a few moments more and the process would be endangered, if not spoilt. Acting at once on the maxim that 'the end justifies the means' our traditional 'man of metal' rushed frantically from his foundry, and made his way to a neighbouring inn, the present 'Rose and Crown,' so the story goes, making an unceremonious raid upon the establishment, 'whipping up' the pewter pots and measures, as well as the culinary vessels available for the purpose; these were hurriedly conveyed home and cast into the furnace, in time, let us hope, to meet the exigencies of the case. Passing, however, to the present time, I may just add, that in digging for the foundation of the new tower, a cavity was found in the rock, containing cinder-ashes, portions of bell-metal and mussel shells, from which circumstances it has been conjectured that the church bells were for convenience sake cast on the very spot over which they were destined to hang." *

Now, the three smaller bells at Haddenham were made by Thomas Newman in 1706, but, of course, the story may relate to the father. The son's bells are sweet and generally true, but weak in tone, *e.g.*, the third and fourth at Mildenhall, Suffolk, bearing a Norfolk rhyme: "Thomas Newman cast me new In 1732." At Worstead we read on the tenor, "I tell all that doth me see That Newman in Brakindel did new cast mee." He appears to have itinerated much in East Anglia, and died in 1745.

* *Cambridge Chronicle*, February 5, 1876. Quoted in my *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*.

One John Stephens cast some fair bells in Norwich between 1717 and 1727. Henry Pleasant, who was first at Colchester and then at Sudbury, settled for a short time in Norwich in the beginning of the eighteenth century. His poetic gift came out in "Henry Pleasant did me run In the year 1701," at Thetford St. Cuthbert's, and "Henry Pleasant have at last Made as good as can be cast," at St. Nicholas, Ipswich. At Maldon he breaks into a quatrain—

"When three this steeple long did hold
We were the emblems of a scold,
No music then, but we shall see
What Pleasant music six will be."

The last Norwicher was Thomas Gardiner, who had a Sudbury centre before and after his Norwich residence. One of the same name, probably his father, cast three bells for Wissett, Suffolk; at Benhall, not far off, in 1718, and three at Edwardstone in 1709 and 1710. As there is no break in the years which have the name till 1759, I conclude that there were two, half a century being phenomenally long for one man's work. The Edwardstone business was a trial, as the founder had to supply a treble, second, and tenor to rank with three Miles Grayes (two of the elder and one of the younger) in a peal of six. His second was found fault with by a local genius, who compelled him to recast it with the words, "Tvned by Wm Cvlpeck, 1710." Gardiner had his revenge on the tenor, which is inscribed—

"About ty second Cvlpeck is wrett
Becavse the founder wanted wett
Thair jvdgments ware bvt bad at last
Or elce this bell I never had cast.
"THO. GARDINER."

No bells have come from Norwich since the days of Gardiner.

When the Stamford foundry was in its decline, Henry Penn started one at Peterborough. His period was twenty-six years, from 1703, when he cast the treble at Holcot, till his death in 1729. I agree with North in classing his bells as good. They do not range beyond the counties adjoining Northampton, and one of his later performances, for him most unfortunate, was the eight for St. Ives in 1723. Mr. Owen * says that of these "the second and fifth have been much sharpened by turning off the rim, and the sixth and seventh flattened by chipping inside." This being the case, we cannot be surprised at the dissatisfaction felt by the townsmen, who instituted a lawsuit against him. It was tried at the Huntingdonshire Assizes, held in St. Ives, in 1729. The verdict was for the defendant, but the excitement proved fatal to him. He fell to the ground while mounting his horse for Peterborough in the inn yard, died from heart failure, and was buried on July 23, at St. Mary's, Huntingdon.

The trade had its heavy cares. The last of the Bilbies, as I am told, committed suicide in 1814 because he could not get the Collumpton bells in tune. Last in my chronicle of late foundries comes York. In the seventeenth century there was a James Smith, whose name is on the fifth bell at Ripon Cathedral, dated 1663. To him North ascribes the third bell at Crowle, dated 1656, with a monogram I. S. and a foundry stamp with two bells and the initials W. C., which I should regard as those of William Cuerdon, of Doncaster, who died in 1678. This James Smith was succeeded by two Samuels, son and grandson. The foundry of the latter was on Toft Green. "S. S. Ebor." is well known on their bells. The younger Samuel died in 1731. The foundry of the Sellars or Seller family apparently began somewhat later.

* *Church Bells of Huntingdonshire*, p. 119.

There died in 1768 a Yorkshire centenarian, Robert Oglebie, who at the age of fourteen was apprenticed to "Mr. Wm. Sellars of York, copper-smith and bell-founder." Edward Seller, sheriff in 1703, may have been his son, and there was a third Edward, whose sole known work out of Yorkshire seems to be the second at Dunholme, Lincolnshire. There was also a John Seller, working with this Edward at Calverley in 1745. George Dalton, of Lendal Street, described himself in 1764 as having a commodious foundry and good water carriage for the Ouse and the Humber to the sea. C. and R. Dalton cast the six for Tadcaster in 1784.

I trust that this necessarily imperfect account of later foundries will not weary my readers. Much has been omitted—Buckingham, Aldbourne in Wiltshire, Redgrave in Suffolk, Wigan, Bromsgrove, Bridgewater, Worcester, Nottingham, Burford, etc. For these reference must be made to the historians of the various counties. Enough has been said, I hope, to give an idea of the work in England, and to throw light on some of the incidents which attend the calling of a bellfounder.

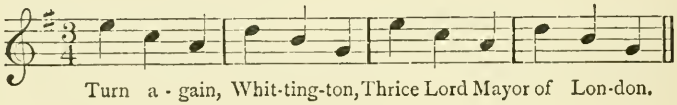
CHAPTER XV

CHANGE-RINGING

THE expression *consonantia campanarum*, used with reference to the Crowland bells, is a proof that some scale, probably minor, had been successfully adopted when a tower was honoured by the residence of musical inmates. On the whole the comparatively few sequences of bells of the Plantagenet period which remain rather point to a major scale. It would not be long before changeful man desired some variation in the arrangement of sounds, however sweet in themselves; and to this end there must be a fair control over the movements of the bells. Striking from outside or inside had not been a success, unsatisfactory in bringing out tone, and often the cause of irremediable cracks. The great change effected by the use of pivots and sockets on which the bell, fastened to a stock, could turn, gave the tongue the necessary oscillation, and the lever attached to the stock was soon worked by a rope from below. As towers improved in construction, more and more attention was given to the lower chamber, or *solarium* (a word still remaining in *soller*), where the ringers assembled. Then the lever gave place to a half-wheel or three-quarter wheel, so bordered along its rim as to steady the rope; and the more power the puller thus obtained the more there came into practice the call-changes which

became in their turn the introduction to those scientific methods, dear to our ringers even from their difficulties, and the delight of thousands who are sensible of their charms without comprehension of them.

Call-changes were generally the alteration in the sequence of two bells, indicated by a nod from the leader of the company. The sequence indicated would go on as long as the leader pleased, terminated by another nod. The earliest notice we have of this practice is in the well-known story of Dick Whittington, which there seems no reason to doubt. Born in 1358, his arrested flight from London would have been in the latter years of the reign of Edward III., when he heard the call of the bells of St. Mary-le-Bow, supposing the key to have been G—



In chiming, when the bells swing to and fro with only a moderate amount of control, the call-changes still prevail, and may be heard in town and country on a Sunday all over England. Indeed, in ringing, where the hands are young and inexperienced, and for other reasons, they are not extinct. Often at a wedding after "clashing," or as it is more usually called "firing," the bells some twenty or thirty times, they break out into "odds and evens," another name for the extension of the "Whittington" system to peals of eight, ten, or twelve. Indeed, I myself heard change after change rung by call at Enfield, Middlesex, in December, 1905.

The excellence of the old frames still existing in so many of our towers is a proof that the hanging was receiving good

attention in those early days. Presently came the complete wheel, by which a bell can be swung so as to have its mouth upward, then not turning over, but back so to have its mouth upward again. A clever contrivance, called the "stay and slide," prevents the bell from falling over, should there be a little overbalance, as almost always happens. Thus a thorough mastery over the bell was accorded to the performer, with the reservation that a certain time must elapse between two strokes of the same bell. In this way there came about those arrangements of changes in which any particular bell keeps as near as possible to its previous place in changing. For instance, if the fourth bell happened to strike in the second's place in one change, in the next change it must be in the treble's or the third's. But under some circumstances a bell may pass over two places in one change. In my *Church Bells of Suffolk*, written about fifteen years ago, I said—

> "There are few common subjects on which there are such wild ideas as on bell-ringing. Every Christmas in the illustrated newspapers you see the most grotesque views of ringers plentifully exerting themselves in a way which would ensure their own destruction and the ruin of the bell-gear."

In the interval I think that these illustrations have changed for the better, not that I attribute the improvement in the slightest degree to the expressions quoted above. But I was certainly surprised in reading in a recently published work of great ability, treating of the Stuart period, of "bell-pulling at which men often fell fainting;" * and I wonder what record of such sad events remains.

In chiming no great muscular effort is required, except in the case of larger bells, and even then, the momentum once

* *England under the Stuarts*, p. 68.

generated does not take much force to keep it up. Nothing is more usual than to find three bells, the largest weighing, say, from 10 to 12 cwt., chimed by one man, with the ropes for the two smaller in each hand, and the third in a loop on his foot. Some of us have seen an expert chime five at once—one and two in each hand, three on the right elbow, four and five on the foot, the loop of the former shorter than that of the latter. I well remember an instance of this at Mildenhall in my boyhood. Such an effort, however, was really exhausting, and soon came to an end.

In the days of Queen Elizabeth "one man one bell" seems to have been the rule. In Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*, for instance, this is the case. No doubt call-changes were all that could be attempted, and we have to wait till the beginning of the Stuart period for anything like an organized system of changes. My authority for this statement is Fabian Stedman, whose *Tintinnalogia* was published in 1667. He was a printer, living in Cambridge, and is said to have printed his changes on slips of paper in his leisure hours, and taught them to his company in the tower of St. Benedict. In this work, the first extant on change-ringing, he says, "Within these fifty or sixty years *Changes* were not known, or thought possible to be Rang. Then were invented the *Sixes*, being the very ground of a *Six-score:* then the *Twenty*, and *Twenty-four*, with several other *Changes*." For the four-and-twenty changes on four bells he "hunts" the treble only. This sporting expression requires explanation. A bell is said to be "hunted up" as she moves towards the tenor's, or last place, and to be "hunted down" as she moves towards the treble's, or first place. I print this method from the *Tintinnalogia*, a copy of which was kindly lent me some years ago. By printing the treble in stronger type its motion

is made clearer. The other bells stay twice in each of the middle places, and thrice in the treble's and tenor's—

1 2 3 4	4 3 2 1
2 1 3 4	4 3 1 2
2 3 1 4	4 1 3 2
2 3 4 1	1 4 3 2
3 2 4 1	1 4 2 3
3 2 1 4	4 1 2 3
3 1 2 4	4 2 1 3
1 3 2 4	4 2 3 1
1 3 4 2	2 4 3 1
3 1 4 2	2 4 1 3
3 4 1 2	2 1 4 3
3 4 2 1	1 2 4 3

In this way change is reduced to a minimum, as if the intention of the composer had been to baulk his audience in the matter of variety. Every change is called a "single," involving a change of place in two bells only. Still, every possible change is introduced, the factorial twenty-four being exhausted, although in a somewhat dull manner.

Local genius has left sometimes its name on a method, and sometimes in remote places earlier peals survive, such as that which Stedman calls the "Twenty all over," known in Fressingfield and the neighbourhood by the name of "Christmas Eve." It is worth recording, for Stedman inserted it for antiquity's sake. The method which requires five bells is very simple. First, the treble "hunts up," the others only changing to make room for it—

1 2 3 4 5
2 1 3 4 5
2 3 1 4 5
2 3 4 1 5
2 3 4 5 1

Then the second does the same thing—

3 2 4 5 1
3 4 2 5 1
3 4 5 2 1
3 4 5 1 2

Then third "hunts up"—

4 3 5 1 2
4 5 3 1 2
4 5 1 3 2
4 5 1 2 3

Then comes the turn of the fourth—

5 4 1 2 3
5 1 4 2 3
5 1 2 4 3
5 1 2 3 4

And lastly, the tenor goes through the same performance—

1 5 2 3 4
1 2 5 3 4
1 2 3 5 4
1 2 3 4 5

So the bells are brought round, and every change is a "single."

Another of Stedman's peals is called *Cambridge Eight and Forty*, doubtless from its having been rung first in St. Benedict's tower. It is a curiously restricted variety of the *Six-score*, the restriction being that the treble and second are never allowed in the last place, or the fourth and tenor to lead a change. So that whereas in the *Six-score* twenty-four changes can be made on 1, 2, 3, 4, with the tenor always behind; twenty-four on 1, 2, 3, 5, with

the fourth always behind; twenty-four on 1, 2, 4, 5, with the third always behind; twenty-four on 1, 3, 4, 5, with the second always behind; and twenty-four on 2, 3, 4, 5, with the treble always behind; in *Cambridge Eight and Forty* the last two of these sets are entirely excluded, and only eighteen of each of the first two sets can be admitted, because the fourth would lead in six changes of the first set, and the tenor in six changes of the second set. And finally, in the third set only twelve changes can be allowed, the other twelve being fourth and fifth leads. Thus, with eighteen from each of the first two sets and twelve from the third set, we get *Cambridge Eight and Forty.* With this introduction I give the peal complete—

1 2 3 4 5	3 1 2 5 4	2 1 4 5 3	1 2 4 3 5
2 1 3 4 5	3 1 2 4 5	2 4 1 5 3	1 4 2 3 5
2 1 3 5 4	3 1 4 2 5	2 4 5 1 3	1 4 3 2 5
2 1 5 3 4	3 4 1 2 5	2 5 4 1 3	1 3 4 2 5
2 5 1 3 4	3 4 2 1 5	2 5 1 4 3	1 3 2 4 5
2 5 3 1 4	3 2 4 1 5	2 1 5 4 3	1 3 2 5 4
2 3 5 1 4	3 2 1 4 5	1 2 5 4 3	1 3 5 2 4
2 3 1 5 4	2 3 1 4 5	1 5 2 4 3	1 5 3 2 4
3 2 1 5 4	2 3 4 1 5	1 5 4 2 3	1 5 2 3 4
3 2 5 1 4	2 4 3 1 5	1 4 5 2 3	1 2 5 3 4
3 5 2 1 4	2 4 1 3 5	1 4 2 5 3	1 2 3 5 4
3 5 1 2 4	2 1 4 3 5	1 2 4 5 3	1 2 3 4 5
3 1 5 2 4			

It will be seen that the motion of the bells is very complex, and that there is no "hunting." Such was the condition of five-bell work in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, and no attempt appears to have been made to deal with a larger number of bells. The curious restrictions of *Cambridge Eight and Forty* had been removed to make way for the *Six-score;* but no change beyond a

"single" occurred to the men of Fabian Stedman's day. Now follow his *Plain-changes.*

1 2 3 4 5	4 1 2 3 5	5 1 4 3 2	5 1 3 2 4
2 1 3 4 5	4 2 1 3 5	5 4 1 3 2	5 3 1 2 4
2 3 1 4 5	4 2 3 1 5	5 4 3 1 2	5 3 2 1 4
2 3 4 1 5	4 2 3 5 1	5 4 3 2 1	5 3 2 4 1
2 3 4 5 1	2 4 3 5 1	5 4 2 3 1	5 3 4 2 1
3 2 4 5 1	2 4 3 1 5	5 4 2 1 3	5 3 4 1 2
3 2 4 1 5	2 4 1 3 5	5 4 1 2 3	5 3 1 4 2
3 2 1 4 5	2 1 4 3 5	5 1 4 2 3	5 1 3 4 2
3 1 2 4 5	1 2 4 3 5	1 5 4 2 3	1 5 3 4 2
1 3 2 4 5	1 2 4 5 3	1 5 2 4 3	1 3 5 4 2
1 3 4 2 5	2 1 4 5 3	5 1 2 4 3	3 1 5 4 2
3 1 4 2 5	2 4 1 5 3	5 2 1 4 3	3 5 1 4 2
3 4 1 2 5	2 4 5 1 3	5 2 4 1 3	3 5 4 1 2
3 4 2 1 5	2 4 5 3 1	5 2 4 3 1	3 5 4 2 1
3 4 2 5 1	4 2 5 3 1	2 5 4 3 1	3 5 2 4 1
3 4 5 2 1	4 2 5 1 3	2 5 4 1 3	3 5 2 1 4
3 4 5 1 2	4 2 1 5 3	2 5 1 4 3	3 5 1 2 4
3 4 1 5 2	4 1 2 5 3	2 1 5 4 3	3 1 5 2 4
3 1 4 5 2	1 4 2 5 3	1 2 5 4 3	1 3 5 2 4
1 3 4 5 2	1 4 5 2 3	1 2 5 3 4	1 3 2 5 4
1 4 3 5 2	4 1 5 2 3	2 1 5 3 4	3 1 2 5 4
4 1 3 5 2	4 5 1 2 3	2 5 1 3 4	3 2 1 5 4
4 3 1 5 2	4 5 2 1 3	2 5 3 1 4	3 2 5 1 4
4 3 5 1 2	4 5 2 3 1	2 5 3 4 1	3 2 5 4 1
4 3 2 5 1	4 5 3 2 1	5 2 3 4 1	2 3 5 4 1
4 3 5 2 1	4 5 3 1 2	5 2 3 1 4	2 3 5 1 4
4 3 2 1 5	4 5 1 3 2	5 2 1 3 4	2 3 1 5 4
4 3 1 2 5	4 1 5 3 2	5 1 2 3 4	2 1 3 5 4
4 1 3 2 5	1 4 5 3 2	1 5 2 3 4	1 2 3 5 4
1 4 3 2 5	1 5 4 2 3	1 5 3 2 4	1 2 3 4 5
1 4 2 3 5			

Five was the usual number for a peal, and as the systems of changes improved the pleasant combinations of sound

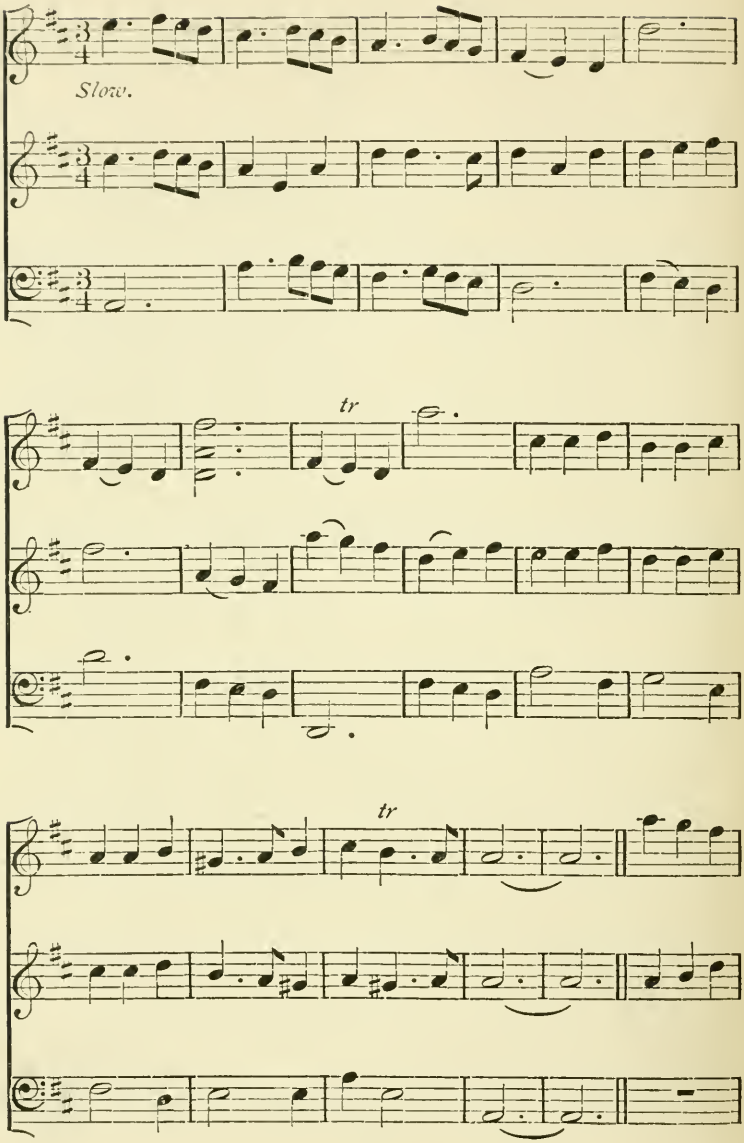
attracted the notice of musicians. Dr. Burney, in his *General History of Music*,* speaking of peals on five, six, and eight bells in the *Tintinnalogia*, calls it—

"a work not beneath the notice of musicians who wish to explore all the regions of natural melody: as in this little book they will see every possible change in the movement of Diatonic sounds from 2 to 12; which being reduced to musical notes, would point out innumerable passages that, in spite of all which has hitherto been written, would be new in melody and musical composition." He complains that "melody has not been consulted in the choice of changes: there seems a mechanical order and succession in them all, without the least idea of selecting such as are most melodious and agreeable."

Evidently he is referring to call-changes.

The amusement was becoming fashionable, for one of the six-bell methods (fifth and tenor hunted down) is called *The Esquire's Twelve-score.* When the systems of "singles" became wearisome Stedman triumphed in bringing out "cross peals." The earliest probably was "Old Doubles," and then "Grandsire Doubles," which is the prevalent *Six-score* of the present day. His own invention was "New Doubles," a pattern of symmetry. Some of these "cross-peal" changes made an impression on the appreciative ear of John Jenkins, born at Maidstone in 1592, composer of the familiar round, "A boat, a boat, unto the ferry," of whom Burney says, "Of all his conceits, none flew about with his name so universally as the small piece called *his Bells.* In those days the country fiddlers were not so well supplied with light Music from London, as since; and a master that furnished them with new tunes, that they were able to play, was a benefactor." Here follows *The Five-Bell Consorte:*—

* iii. 413.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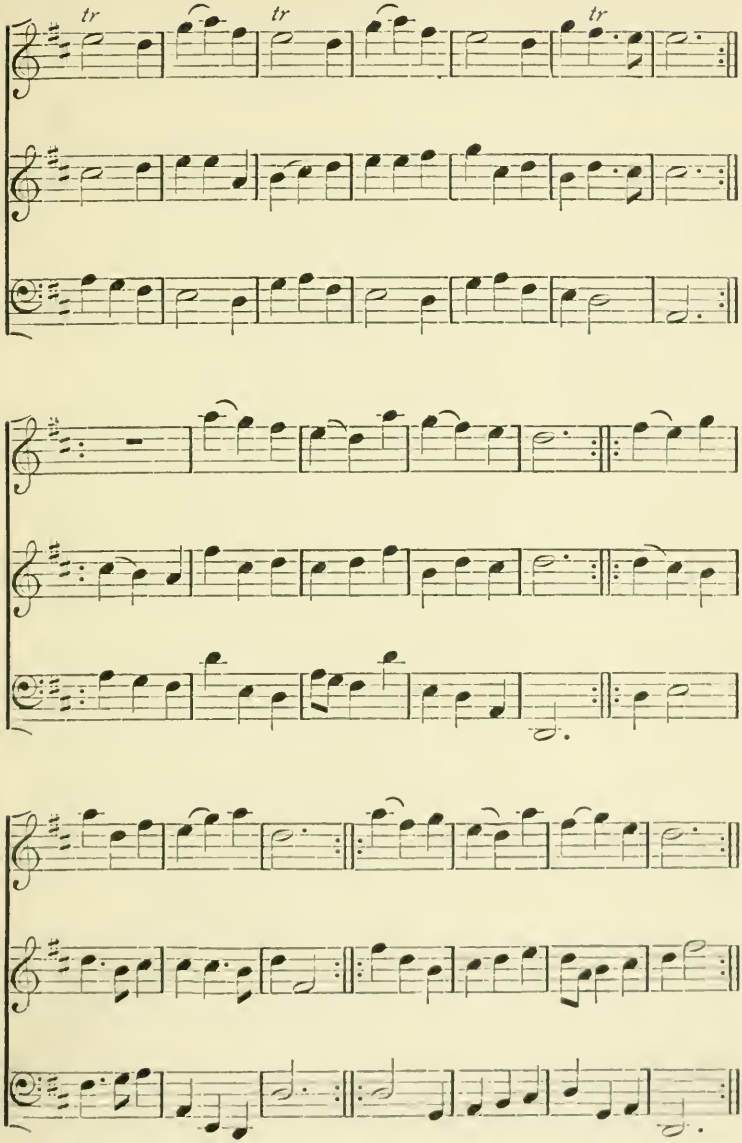
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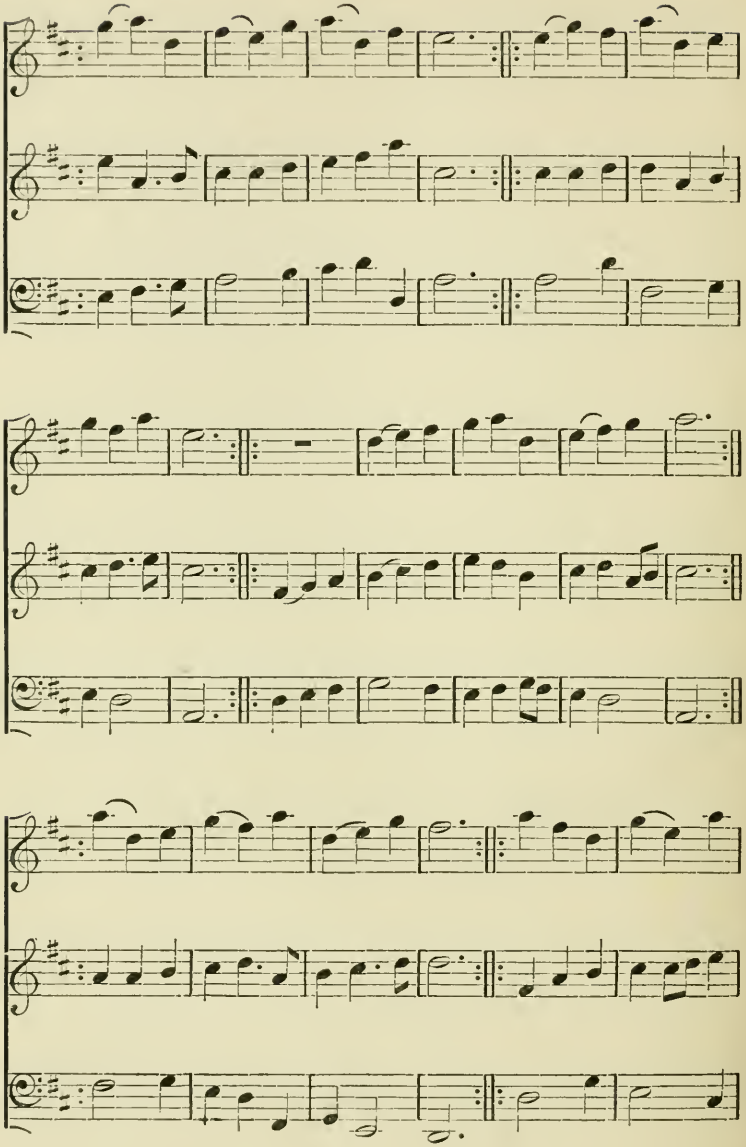
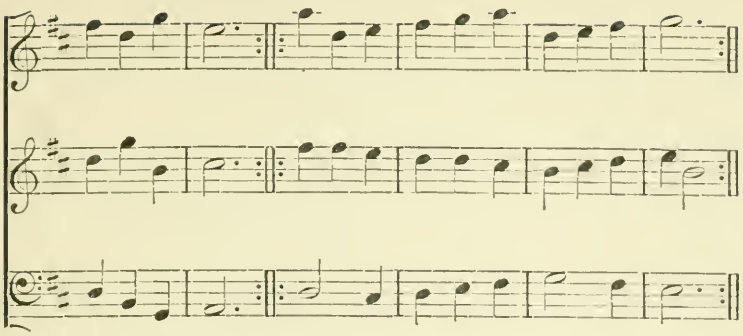
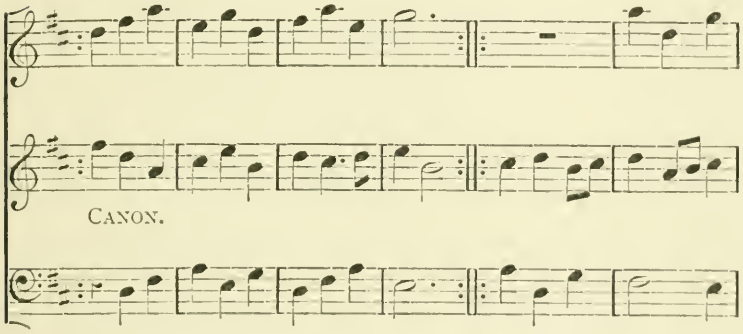
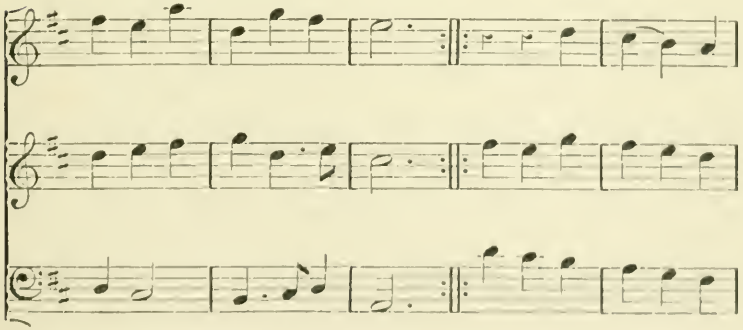
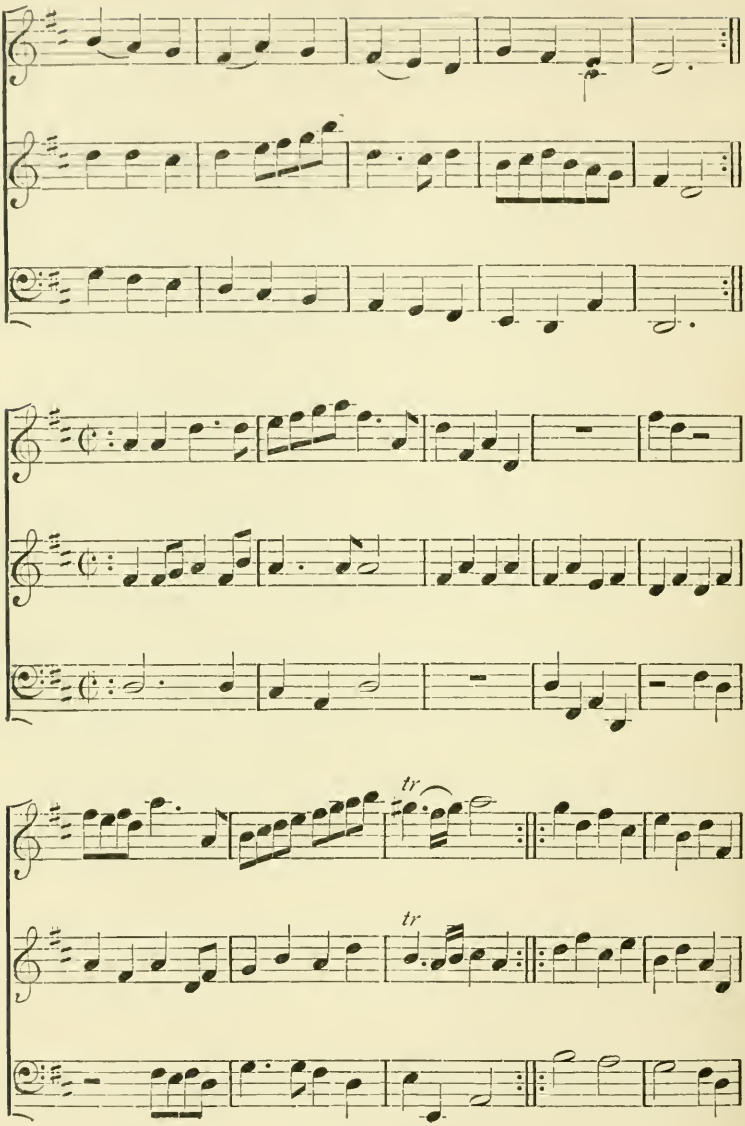





CANON.

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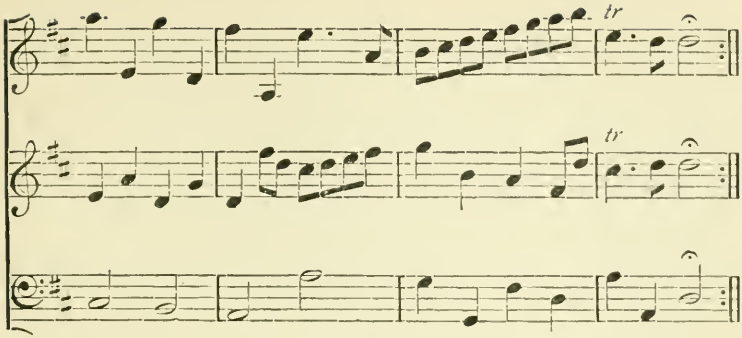


With this may be compared a course of Grandsire Doubles, with the result, as it seems to me, that divers of its movements have been utilized in the Consorte—

1 2 3 4 5		
2 1 3 5 4	2 1 5 4 3	2 1 4 3 5
2 3 1 4 5	2 5 1 3 4	2 4 1 5 3
3 2 4 1 5	5 2 3 1 4	4 2 5 1 3
3 4 2 5 1	5 3 2 4 1	4 5 2 3 1
4 3 5 2 1	3 5 4 2 1	5 4 3 2 1
4 5 3 1 2	3 4 5 1 2	5 3 4 1 2
5 4 1 3 2	4 3 1 5 2	3 5 1 4 2
5 1 4 2 3	4 1 3 2 5	3 1 5 2 4
1 5 2 4 3	1 4 2 3 5	1 3 2 5 4
1 2 5 3 4	1 2 4 5 3	1 2 3 4 5

Here the changes start with leaving the third in its place, the pairs before and behind "dodging." Then a general "hunt" takes place, till at the eleventh change the bell in third's place (in this instance the tenor) remains there for the next change, the pairs "dodging" as before, followed by another "hunt;" and a similar plan at the twenty-first change gives the first course of thirty, bringing the bells round to natural sequence at the thirty-first change. Now this, of course, would spoil the six-score, so that another plan has to be adopted, "bobs"

being called at the end of each score of changes, except at the end of the third score (at the middle of the peal), where a "single" is called. By this means every permutation is introduced, and not one repeated. But the detail of these various methods pertains to the special science of change-ringing rather than to the archæology of the subject; and those desirous of pursuing the intricacies of *Campanalogia* may be referred to such works as Troyte's *Change-ringing*, or Wigram's *Change-ringing Disentangled.*

The first edition of *Tintinnalogia* was anonymous, but registered at Stationers' Hall by "Fabyan Stedman." In 1671 appeared the second edition, "Printed for F. S., and are to be sold by Tho. Archert at his shop under the Dyal of S. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street," and in 1700 another came out, improved by J. White. In the interim, in *The School of Recreation, or Gentleman's Tutor in Various Exercises*, 1684, a portion was devoted to ringing.

When peals of eight began to abound, new treatises followed in their wake, dealing with Bob Major and Treble Bob methods for that number, and Grandsire Tripples, which are changes on seven with the tenor behind.

The earliest octave known to me is at Horham, Suffolk, where a member of an old Suffolk family, John Club, Cloub, or Cloube, was rector.* Of these the lower four are dated respectively, 1605, 1663 (two), and 1568. The great effort was made in 1672 and 1673, when the terrier records "Eight bells, with frames, ropes, &c." They cannot be pronounced a first-rate company, either in consonance or individual quality. More enterprising towns had led the way; St. Margaret's, Lynn, had eight by 1663, and St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich,

* The antiquity of this family is shown by the fact that one of the name was resident at Thorndon, not far off, in 1340.

by 1676. But still better times were at hand, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century many towns and some villages were gladdened by eight-bell methods.

In 1788, Jones, Reeves and Blakemore, by joint effort, produced a *Clavis Campanalogia*, part of the MS. of which Blakemore is said to have taken from a Norwich man. A long list of similar publications may be found in Ellacombe's supplement to his Devonshire book. Ringing companies and societies naturally arose from conjoined action in belfries. A very early instance is that of the Brethren of the Guild of Westminster, mentioned in Chapter V. In this case the connection between sets of bells and guilds of ringers is manifest. It is a rare instance as far as record goes, but if we had lived in those days we should have found it by no means a peculiar case. In the library of All Souls' College, Oxford, is a MS. entitled "Orders conceyved and agreed upon by the Company exercising the arte of ringing, knowne and called by the name of the Schollers of Chepesyde, in London, begun and so continued from the second day of February, anno 1603." * The start seems to have been at Candlemas. The date of the rules, however, is 1610. They are to elect annually a Gennerall, four Wardens and a Warner, whose function was most likely to call bobs, etc. There is a list of members down to 1634, in which may be expected to be found some names of interest. This MS. was the property of Narcissus Luttrel in 1682. Three years after the last entry in the "Chepesyde" list there commences that of the "College Youths," now in the British Museum, part of a present † from the widow of Thomas Osborn, who bought it from a Bristol bookseller. Its history may be read at length in Ellacombe's supplement.‡ The name seems to be tortuously derived from

* MS. cxix. † Add. MSS. 19368-19373. ‡ P. 230.

Whittington's College of the Holy Ghost and Hospital of God's House, founded in 1424, though Shipway's account of it * is not altogether correct; and in substance it is a resuscitation of the "Chepesyde" Society. The first master was Lord Brereton, of Brereton in Cheshire, an Irish peer, of whom we know nothing. The office changed yearly, and the master in 1638 was Sir Cliff Clifton. Among the officers and members are many scions of distinguished families, and to us not the least interesting is Brian Eldridge, of Chertsey, 1649, a bellfounder of some importance. The house called by his name is in Windsor Street, and when I visited a well-known local antiquary, Dr. Shurlock, in 1884, he kindly showed me his title-deeds, which recorded the admission of Brian's son William and his wife Barbara to the copyhold in 1661, "post decessum Annæ Eldridge, viduæ." The only other society for which I can find space is the Cumberland Society of Change-ringers, the name being altered, according to a tradition by no means improbable, from an older company, the "London Scholars," by means of the notice acquired by them in 1746, when they greeted the victorious Duke William with a peal on the Shoreditch bells, as he entered London from the north after Culloden. It is certain that the society possesses a gold medal, representing the Duke mounted on a charger, which the master wears officially at their meetings; and the account given of it by tradition, that the great William Augustus, pleased with his greeting, desired an interview with the ringers, and subsequently gave the society the medal, is quite in accordance with other traces of him. In my own neighbourhood are two taverns named after him, and one after General Wolfe, his subaltern, who, with his superior, visited Earsham Hall, the residence of the Duke's secretary, Mr. Windham, in that same year.

* *Campanalogia*, p. 19.

CHAPTER XVI

SIGNA

A GOOD ear-filling sound from one large instrument is dear to man. There seems to be something satisfying to the soul in it, apart from its utility as a call to duty, an alarm when danger impends, or a mark of passing time. No instrument can vie with a cast bell for a sound-signal, and though England cannot be compared with some other European nations or with the East in the size of *signa*, we are happily possessed of a fair number of them up and down the land. It is now my lot to describe the most noted specimens which are above the size of the largest tenors used in change-ringing.

And first, of our Metropolitan Canterbury. Here, almost certainly in a detached campanile, were five bells in the earlier part of the twelfth century. After the lapse of a little more than half a century came a veritable *signum*, the word used of Prior Wybert's addition: "Signum quoque magnum in clocario posuit, quod triginta duo homines ad sonandum trahunt," a clear indication of the method of setting men on planks fastened to a stock to move the unwieldy mass.

Whatever may have been the size of this bell, it was outdone by another dedicated to the martyred Archbishop Thomas by Prior Henry of Eastry, in 1316. It is recorded to have weighed 8000 lbs., or 3 tons 11 cwt. 48 lbs. of our

modern avoirdupois. This was doubtless broken, with the rest, including two *campanæ* (not called *signa*), Jesu and Dunstan, of a somewhat later date, in the fall of the campanile in 1382, from the shock of an earthquake. In 1430 came a revival, when Prior Molass gave a bell which surpassed in weight that of Prior Eastry's by 105 lbs. Its dedication in honour of St. Dunstan in 1459 is thus recorded: "Item hoc anno xiiij die Mensis Junii dominus Ricardus episcopus Rossensis benedixit magnam campanam in navi ecclesie in honore sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi cum magna solempnitate; prior istius ecclesie erat ibidem revestitus in pontificalibus. Ista Campana facta fuit Lond̄ anno Domini M° cccc° xxx° tempore domini Willelmi Molass." * The Primate, Bourchier, might well be absent, for this dedication was in a busy time, about three months before the battle of Bloreheath. The Bishop of Rochester who officiated was John Lowe. "Great Dunstan," possibly recast in the interval, survived in the Chicheley tower till 1758, when it fell a victim to external percussion, administered by a hammer. It was recast on the spot by Lester and Pack in 1762, and weighs 3 ton 10 cwt. Meantime the central tower, according to tradition, received "Bell Harry," a gift from Henry VIII., brought from him out of France, as the story goes. This was recast by Joseph Hatch of Ulcombe, about the central point of the county, in 1635. No doubt there was a loss of weight in the recasting, but "Harry's" claim to have deserved the degree of a *signum* is not so clear as it might be.

Next to Canterbury, of course, comes York; but here is no *signum* cast in earlier days. What "Peter" lacks in historical interest is atoned for in weight. Cast by Charles and George Mears at the Whitechapel foundry on January 18,

* Searle's *Christ Church, Canterbury*, p. 77.

1845, it is estimated to weigh 12½ tons, with a diameter of 7 ft. 4 in., and cost some £2000.

Lincoln's "Tom" will afford more matter. The earliest reliable account of bells here is that of Giraldus Cambrensis, in speaking of the vacant period in the see after the death of Bishop Robert de Chesney. For about half this time (1173–1182) the temporalities were held by Geoffrey Plantagenet, the natural son of King Henry II. Of him Giraldus says: "Ipse quoque ornatus ecclesiæ suæ plurimum propriis donariis amplificavit. Cui inter cetera quoque campanas duo grandes, egregias atque sonoras devota largitione donavit." It is impossible to say what became of this pair, and whether they were the precursors of a subsequent ring, of a subsequent *signum*, or of neither. We know, however, that there was a large bell there in Elizabeth's reign, for from it was cast the "Old Tom" of 1610–11. North, who examined most carefully the Lincoln history, gives, in his *Church Bells of Lincolnshire*,* an extract from the muniments of the Dean and Chapter, headed "Conc'neing ye greate Bell," and bearing date "xxx die Januarii" of that year. From this we find that "Henricus Olldfield de Nottingham et Robertus Nevinson de Leyster, Bellfounders" had recast the old bell. Nevinson appears to be equivalent to Newcombe, and Robert Newcombe was just coming on in the place of his aged father. The weight of the old bell is given as 7807 lbs., "at 112 to the C," which will be found to amount to 8743 lbs. or according to our avoirdupois, 3 tons 18 cwt. 7 lbs. Some consider this union of founders to be due to the fact that Newcombe lived in the diocese, and that Oldfield had the higher reputation. The new bell was cast in the Minster yard, near the sub-dean's house, and weighed 4 tons 8 cwt.

* Page 523.

38½ lbs. The bill for workmanship and extra metal amounted to cxlvij*li* xix*s* ij*d*. On Sunday, January 27, 1611, the bell having been hung up, "ronge owte and all safe and well," a beautiful bell, with a running border, and in tone equal to its appearance. In process of time the swinging of such a weight was found injurious to the tower, and in the figurative language of a newspaper writer,* "he has therefore been chained and rivetted down; so that instead of the full mouthful he has been used to send forth, he is enjoined in future merely to wag his tongue."

The result may be imagined. The unsatisfactory state of things induced James Harrison, of Barton-on-Humber, bellfounder, twice to address the Dean and Chapter on the subject of a general recast, not including Tom, who was doomed soon afterwards from bad clock-striking and general clocking. In 1827 a bad crack appeared near the rim, and the cathedral surveyor consulted old John Briant, the Hertford bellfounder, a man of great ability, who was retiring from business through age. Briant gave excellent advice. Dobson of Downham Market, backed by the great Dr. Samuel Parr and Harrison, approached the Dean and Chapter, who in the end employed Thomas Mears, of Whitechapel. "Tom" was sent thither, with other bells broken up by his own tongue, on Wednesday June 18th, 1834, recast on November 15th, left on Monday, April 6th, 1835, travelled to Lincoln *viâ* Hoddesdon, Buntingford, Caxton, Stilton, Bourn, and Sleaford, was triumphantly received on the 13th, and long may his noble tones sound over the "never-ending plain."

What there may have been at Bury St. Edmund's in the Middle Ages must be a matter of uncertainty. The Great Belltower which the well-known Sampson de Tottington erected

* *Stamford Mercury*, August 6, 1802.

with so much trouble while he held the office of sub-sacrist was blown down, according to Taxster,* in an autumn gale in 1210: "turris ecclesiæ Sancti Edmundi aliquo impulsu venti cecidit IX Kalendas Octobris." There were bells, possibly of *signum* size, in it, for when he returned to Bury in 1182, now Abbot, his historian Jocelin de Brakelonda describes his reception: "Susceptus est autem dominus abbas hoc modo: proxima nocte jacuerat apud Chenteford,† et accepta temporis opportunitate, ivimus contra eum solempniter, post exitum de capitulo, usque ad portam cimiterii, sonantibus campanis in choro et extra."‡ This "porta cimiterii" is what is now called the "Norman Tower," containing the fine ring of ten bells belonging to St. James's parish. But it was not used for such a purpose till after the fall of the second bell-tower in 1430, and probably not then, for this ill-fated tower seems to have been for a third time rebuilt. Very possibly the "Norman Tower" contained the bells of St. James's church, of which there were five in the return of 1553.

At Ely we are assured of a *signum*, a bell named after Our Saviour, and weighing little short of two tons, a great mass of metal for that time. Nor was this the first large bell belonging to that cathedral, for in 1322 there was a bell called "Bounce" in the western tower, as mentioned in Chapter VI. In XX Edward III., however, there was a great work going on. Alan de Walsingham, Prior, whom the convent had unanimously chosen, and Pope Clement VI. had refused, for the bishopric, nothing daunted by his disappointment, pressed on with his work, and the roll of Robarte Aylesh'm, Sacrist, witnesses to the success which crowned their

* Fol. 35. † Kentford.
‡ Gage Rokewode's *Jocelin*, p. 18.

perseverance. The bell account which I have given is noted in the margin, *Cust' magn' campan' de nov' Sacr' in' me jam expen'm.** It throws much light on the operations of the fourteenth century. The founder is John of Gloucester. His expenses to Lynn, whence is not stated, are given by me as V^{s}, but the MS. at this point, as elsewhere, is not very clear. The inference is that he had been itinerating, for he would hardly have come from Gloucester to Lynn to get to Ely. He is sent to Northampton and elsewhere to buy tin and copper, and one Cok is twice sent to Lynn for the same purpose. Clay for the mould is bought at Erith and Lynn, and the casting may be inferred to have taken place in the Minster yard, as there is no charge for the carriage of the bells. The hanging of the bells, six in number, gives the impression that *Bounce* and *Peter* were conjoined with John of Gloucester's four. It is plain that they were in frames, for the cost of the wheels (trendel') is given, and the carpenter, Roger, is regarded as a person of nearly the same importance as the founder, John. When all was done, the workmen of both masters were kindly remembered by the Cathedral authorities, as recorded in the item : "Dat' Garcōib's p'dict'r Mag'r' Joh'is et Rog'i in secessu eor' jx*s.* vj*d.*," and the famous ale of Ely was consumed, we may trust not to excess, on the day on which the greatest bell was cast. The reputation of the Ely brew was great in England, as we find from a manuscript of the time of Edward II., which, in a catalogue of things for which different towns were noted, gives *Cerveyse de Ely.* The item is "In c'rv' emp. die qua fund't'r metall' magna campana p't'r staur' iiij^{s} vij^{d}."

These bells are said to have been hung in Alan de Walsingham's Lantern, as thought to be proved by the

* *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, pp. 5, etc.

discovery made by Bishop Harvey Goodwin while he was Dean of the Cathedral:—

"It was a question," said he,* "when I first went to Ely, and when the restoration of Alan de Walsingham's Lantern was undertaken as a memorial to Dean Peacock, how the bells in the Lantern were rung: in fact, some bold sceptics questioned whether there were any bells, notwithstanding distinct documentary evidence of their existence. One day, while the work of restoration was going on, a carpenter told me that he had found the marks of the ropes: and he showed me, upon one of the vertical beams forming the south side of the lantern, three parallel grooves, which had evidently been worn by ropes. My remark was, 'If these be the marks of bell-ropes, there ought to be four, as I know that there were four bells.' A little examination soon brought to light the fourth rope-mark. I then directed the carpenter to remove some of the wooden groining below, in order that we might see where the rope-marks pointed; he did so, and we found that they pointed to the base of the eastern column of the arch of the south transept. Here therefore stood the brother whose business it was to chime the bells: from the position occupied by him the ropes would clear the stalls which then extended under the lantern; and to complete the story, I found in the discovery the explanation of two marks in the pillar near which the chimer stood. I had never been able to guess what they were, but I now found that they were the marks of the pegs upon which the ends of the ropes were twisted when not used for chiming. Thus the problem of ringing the bells in Ely Lantern was completely solved."

It is not pleasant to raise doubts on conclusions drawn by one so venerated as Bishop Harvey Goodwin, yet a shudder passes through the soul on contemplating as tenants of the Lantern the four weighty bells of John of Gloucester, to say nothing of the additional two hung at the same time

* *Essays on Cathedrals* (Murray, 1872), p. 21, note.

by Roger the carpenter. Might they not have been in the West Tower?

When I turn from Ely to Exeter, I feel rather ashamed of claiming the largest bell of the former cathedral as a *signum*, so overpowering is the comparative weight of the corresponding bell at the latter. Here Ellacombe * speaks of ten, noting that, according to Rocca and Carlo Borromeo, seven was the number allowed to a cathedral tower. But from his own account it is hard to make the ten, for his list runs over nearly two centuries, and a bell bearing originally one name might easily be recast under another name. He notes the name "Walter" in 1286, from the donor, Bishop Walter Bronescomb (1257–1280), and others, and gives some puzzling detail.

The bell given by Bishop Grandison (1327–1370) may be presumed to have been identical with one called by the same name in the return of 6 Edward VI., which weighed xl. cwt. or two tons. In 1729 it was recast by William Evans of Chepstow with additional metal. Its weight is stated by Ellacombe as 67 cwt. 1 qr. 18 lbs., but I am informed by Mr. Charles E. Borrett, of the Norwich Diocesan Society of Change-ringers, that it is between 59 and 60 cwt. Its note is B ♭. In the North Tower hangs the bell Peter, the gift of Bishop Courtenay of that Christian name. The original bell was "crased 5th November last past," as the words run in the Acts of the Chapter, 21st March, 1611; and this effect of exuberant rejoicing at the Powder Plot anniversary was to be set right by a recast by Mr. John Birdall "in the workhouse of the church or in Mr. Dean's yard, with such addition as shall be convenient." John Birdall's performances must have been few and far between. He is to us practically

* *Church Bells of Devon*, p. 74.

a name and nothing more. Whether he was competent to carry out the order is dubious, but if it was carried out there must have been another "crase" before the bell reached its threescore and ten years, for the present noble bell is the work of Thomas Purdue, in 1676. The inscription has a frieze, described by Ellacombe as mediæval, above and below, which is identical with that commonly used by Purdue. The words are—

> EX o DONO o PETRI o COURTENAY o EPISCOPI o EXON : ANNO DOM. : 1484 o PLEBS : PATRIÆ : PLAUDIT : DUM : PETRUM : PLE o RENOVAT : EX : IMPENSIS : DECANI : ET : CAPITULI : EXON : ANNO : DOMINI : 1676 o PER : THO : PVRDVE o.

The founder was more successful in his casting than in his inscription, leaving out NIVS AVDIT after PLE. The hexameter is found, with some variations, on a good many other bells. At the same time the fourth, the seventh (called Cobthorne, after a dean of that name), and the ninth, named Stafford, after the bishop who presided over the see from 1395 to 1419, were recast. As in the case of Ely, the carpenter, Thomas Heart of Long Sutton, is mentioned with Thomas Purdue of Closworth in the agreement. "Great Peter" is hung on the regular stock-and-gudgeons system; and if the engraving in Mr. Pearson's book represents him fairly, the shape is rather short, with a rounded crown and very small cannons. Ellacombe gives the weight as 6 tons 5 cwt. Pearson rejects the estimate, and adds that "the diameter, height, thickness of sound-board, and musical note imply a weight of 80 cwt. only." *

* *Ringer's Guide to the Church Bells of Devon*, p. 101.

The note is A, certainly higher than might be expected from either estimated weight.

No bell in England is better known by name than Great Tom of Oxford. From the account generally given, which there seems no reason to doubt, at the dissolution of the monasteries the great bell of Oseney Abbey was removed to St. Frideswide's, Oxford, at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. The Oseney bells had long been famous. Dugdale, in the *Monasticon*,* quotes a manuscript of Antony à Wood, dated November 26, 1661—

"At the west end of the church was situated the campanile, or tower, which, enduring the brunt, stood firm and whole till 1644. It contained a large and melodious ring of bells, thought to be the best in England. At the first foundation there was but three bells, beside the Saint and Litany bells; but by Abbot Leech (elected 19 Henry III., 1235), they were increased to the number of seven. The bells were christened and called by the names of Hauteclare, Doucement, Austyn, Marie, Gabriel and John; all which, for the most part, towards the suppression, being before broken and recast, had gotten new names, which by tradition we name thus: Mary and Jesus, Meribus and Lucas, New Bell and Thomas, Conger and Godeston, which Thomas, now commonly called Great Tom of Christchurch, had this inscription not long since remaining upon it—

IN THOMÆ LAUDE RESONO BIM BOM SINE FRAUDE

and was accounted to be six feet in diameter, which is eighteen feet in compass."

This would be veritably a *signum*, even allowing for a little exaggeration in figures. The conveyance to Oxford was managed by local hands, as shown by items from the accounts of 1546, when "there was payd to Wellbye of

* VI. 250.

Ensham for caryage of the great bell to Fryswids xxvj September xx^{s}," and iiij^{d} "for ale to theym laboreres at ye wyndyng up of the great bell into Friswides steple." Ensham is conveniently near the river, "a Royal ville," as Camden tells us, "seated very commodiously among most delightful meadows." In Mary's reign a change of dedication, partly out of compliment to her, was attempted, but the old name held its own, and "Tom," through manifold catastrophes, has survived to the present day. The first mishap recorded was in 1612, when recasting was necessary from some injury, most likely caused by the inevitable clocking. The genius of Dean Corbet, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, celebrated the occasion in some quasi-jocular verses, which will be found in the poetry chapter. Another return to the furnace came off in 1654, April 22, the maker being Michael Derby; and in 1680 the operation had to be repeated, when the work was entrusted to the unhappy Richard Keene, living in the "Common Acker" at Woodstock. Thrice did this luckless or brainless personage fail in his attempt, twice from not allowing metal enough, though, like our Haddenham friend, he surely might have run round and collected pewter pots; and on the last occasion the mould burst, and the metal ran all over the place.

About this time Christopher Hodson, of London and St. Mary Cray, was itinerating over the district, as Mr. Cocks has shown,* and to him the Dean and Chapter entrusted the task, having first "made amends" to poor Richard. The most satisfactory evidence which can be found as to the place where Hodson did the work is derived from the agreement with Keene, who in 1678 (August 5) was allowed the use of one of the workshops at Christ Church

* *Church Bells of Bucks*, p. 253.

for casting this bell. Mr. Cocks thought naturally that Hodson would have taken advantage of Keene's Woodstock workshop; but if Keene preferred to do his work on the spot so as to regard it as his own, for there exists "Ric^d. Keene, his bill for worke done at his furnises at Christchurch," his more fortunate successor would be sure to follow his example. There is no charge for land or water carriage by either Keene or Hodson, whereas when Rudhall did some similar work in 1741, there is a separate bill for wharfage, amounting to £4 16*s.* 6*d.* The spot is indicated by the old name, Bell Yard, which became afterwards School Quadrangle, given up for a consideration for the use of two of the Canons. The inscription is—

MAGNVS · THOMAS · CLVSIVS · OXONIENSIS ·
RENATVS · APRILIS · VIII · ANNO · MDCLXXX ·
REGNANTE · CAROLO · II · DECANO · JOANNE * ·
OXON · EPISCOPO · SVBDECANO · GVL · JANE ·
SS · TH · P · THESAVRARIO · HEN · SMITH · SS ·
TH · P · CVRA · ET · ARTE · CHRIST · HODSON †

With regard to St. Paul's Cathedral, I am unable to give any notes about bells before the fire of 1666. When in 1698 a clochard opposite Westminster Hall gate was taken down after having been given by William III. to St. Margaret's parish, its great bell, weighing 4 tons 2 cwt. 77 lbs. was sold to St. Paul's at 10*d.* per pound. It was broken near Temple Bar in its transit, and recast by Richard Phelps in 1716, with additional metal, so as to weigh 5 tons 2 cwt. 50 lbs. Dr. Parr did not admire it, pronouncing its tone "not fine." There can be no question, however, as to the present

* The well-known Dr. Fell.

† Much of this information was procured for me by my old pupil, George Colborne, Ph.D., with kind help of the Christ Church authorities.

"Great Paul," which came from the well-tried Loughborough foundry in 1881. Its note is E♭, its diameter is $114\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and its weight 16 tons 14 cwt. 75 lbs. This is truly a "record." An interesting account of its conveyance from Loughborough to London may be found in Tyack's *Book about Bells*.* The tenor of the peal of twelve, given by the Corporation of London, weighs 3 tons 2 cwt.

At Westminster the fate of the original "Big Ben" was a melancholy one. Many will remember the great attention given to it by Sir Edmund Beckett Denison, afterwards Lord Grimthorpe. It was cast by Messrs. Warner and Son, of the Crescent Foundry, Cripplegate and Stockton-on-Tees, in 1856, with an estimated diameter of 9 feet, and weight of 14 tons. There were some curious stories afloat about its being found to be cracked. When broken up, it was recast by the Mears brothers at Whitechapel, with a slightly reduced weight and diameter, and a remarkable reduction in the weight of the clapper—6 cwt. instead of a ton.

Peter of Gloucester is notable for being a survival of a *signum*. The date is, I should say, pretty early in the fifteenth century. It bears two large shields, flower-bordered above, of which one bears two keys saltireways and a sword in pale for St. Peter, and the other a foundry stamp of three bells, also a hexameter—

Me · fecit · fieri · Conventus · nomine · petri.

The diameter is 5 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the weight 2 tons, 18 cwt.

"Short was my life, longer my rest may be," might have been the motto of the Manchester Town Hall bell, a

* Page 105.

beautiful Loughborough cast in 1876. It first gave voice on New Year's Day, 1879, but its last note was uttered on May 20, 1880. The clock hammer, again, was the fatal instrument, the crack being 3½ inches from the dent caused by the hammer. Its weight was 6 tons 9 cwt., and its diameter 7 feet 5 inches. In 1882 it was recast at Loughborough with additional metal, to the same note, G. Though its diameter is increased only by 2½ inches, its weight is now 8 tons 2 cwt. 84 lbs.

Worcester owes to the Rev. Canon Richard Cattley its grand hour bell, and much else. Four of a discordant eight were purchased by Lord Amherst of Hackney, and stand on the floor of Didlington Church, Norfolk. The largest only weighs about 16 cwt., but is notable in lettering and stamps. The smallest, very long waisted, seems to belong to the ring placed in the cathedral in 1220. There is no record of an early *signum*. The present one is from Messrs. Taylor, 6 ft. 4⅜ in. in diameter, and weighing 4 tons 10 cwt. Its date is 1868, and it bears as an appropriate motto, "Surge qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis et illuminabit te Christus."

The name of St. John of Beverley, Archbishop of York, 687–718, is now celebrated by the great bell of Beverley Minster, hanging in the south tower. This is another of the Loughborough glories, cast in 1902, weighing 7 tons 3 qrs. 1 lb.; note G; diameter, 7 ft. 3 in. A MS. quoted by Leland speaks of a church earlier than the Archbishop's days. In 1664, the venerable man's tomb was discovered, with a leaden plate bearing a long inscription. From it we find that the church was burnt down on September 22, 1188, and that remains of the Archbishop were discovered on March 10, 1197, and re-interred. But though the investigator is debarred from following the Beverley relics into this remote

period, it is a satisfaction to find that something has been preserved from mediæval days. Ellacombe, in his *Miscellaneous Scraps*,* appended to the Devonshire book, has engraved a beautiful cross and word-stop from a bell (he does not say which) at St. Mary's, Beverley.

* Page 512.

CHAPTER XVII

CARILLONS, HAND-BELLS, AND TINTINNABULA

IT has been seen that perfect freedom as to the succession of musical notes in rings of bells cannot be attained by any system of ringing, or even by the swing of chiming. Percussion, however liable to abuse, must be the method used; and external percussion, the most primitive of all causes of sound from metal, is the only course open to those who will adopt mechanical agency for the purpose. Great uncertainty prevails as to the dates of the water-clock and the wheel-and-weight clock, nor can we assign the appearance of the second train of wheels, for striking purposes, to any definite time. Hour-striking, no doubt, had to suffice for the use of bells in clocks for many years. Then, as machinery improved, the pleasure of hearing familiar pieces of music, or others likely to win their way and so become familiar, was gratified by the introduction of a third train of wheels. Doubtless many a time before this invention came into play, ingenious sextons or their deputies "clocked" the bells, and played such tunes as the numbers and notes allowed; doubtless, also, many are the ancient bells which thus "perished in the using." But with the introduction of the third train of wheels and the chime-barrel with its pegs, worked from them, came a support for the hammer. In this way the tower bells, which have for decades "contrived a

INTERIOR OF TURRET WITH BELL AND CLOCKWORK

ILLUSTRATING STATEMENT THAT THE DIVINITY REGULATES THE TIME AND ACTIONS OF HUMANITY AFTER THE FASHION OF A CLOCK

FROM THE EPISTLE OF OTHEA, WORKS OF CHRISTINE DE PISAN ; FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Harl. MS. 4431, f. 96b

double debt to pay," may continue so to do without much fear of a collapse, a sufficient turn of the striking-place preventing too much impression being made on one spot by the constant blows of the hammer.

That the mediæval method was mainly identical with that of the present day is shown by the will of that substantial citizen of Bury St. Edmund's quoted in Chapter IX. The arrangements there transcribed from the will must have been of the later Plantagenet time, like others which are dignified with the title "Catholic Practice." The music for "Al Lenton Requiem," the short Requiem, I have not been able to find. No mention of chimes occurs in John Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, or in *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, both published by the Early English Text Society. The former was edited by Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., from Cotton MS. Claudius A., II. It is a valuable work, evidently issuing from the mind and heart of a man anxious not only about correct ritual, but also concerning the spiritual work of the clergy. The editor says that the copy in the British Museum, from which his imprint was made, is in his opinion "not later than the year 1450, perhaps a little earlier; but the language is of a somewhat older date." *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* is printed from four MSS., edited by Canon Simmons, with various readings from two others. MS. A was transcribed for him from the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, by my cousin, the late Rev. T. Milville Raven; B is in the British Museum, from the King's Library; C, written for the Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx, is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and is the only one without a prayer for the Queen. Canon Simmons, therefore, assigns to it a date between the death of Joan of Navarre, widow of Henry IV., in 1437, and the marriage of

Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou in 1445. D, referred to the early part of the sixteenth century, is in the Cambridge University Library; E seems nearly a century earlier. It is in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, and incorporated with it is a calendar in the same handwriting, headed: "This Kalender hath his begynnyng in the yere of oure Lorde Ihesu a Mill̄ cccc. xl. and iiij." F was copied by Professor Skeat from a MS., the property of Mr. Henry Yates Thompson, of Thingwall, Liverpool, and is apparently of about the same date as E. It seems strange that in not one of these is any allusion to such a Trental as John Baret's; but perhaps the custom was local.

Though I have used the word *Carillon* as the keyword of this chapter, it is not to be found in Johnson's Dictionary. Carol is spelt with an *i* in the late mediæval *Manipulus Vocabulorum*, but the more modern *quadriglio* derivation given by Tyack * may be the origin of the word *carillon*, not noticed by Thomas Blount in his *Glossographia*, "interpreting all such Hard Words of Whatsoever Language now used in our refined English Tongue" (2nd Ed., 1661). This Italian term seems to have first of all indicated the music for a dance in which four persons could take a part, a quadrille. In France its derivative, the subject of our investigation, sometimes means the tune played, but more often the little bells on which it is played. When a keyboard like that of a piano is used, it is called *le carillon à clavier*.

Many chimes of the type provided by John Baret's will disappeared at the Reformation, though quarter-chimes, and perhaps something more, survived in a few places; and the revival of tunes may be traced to the reaction after the dull days of the Commonwealth. There were chimes at

* *A Book about Bells*, p. 272.

Grantham in 1646, for the Corporation in that year issued an order for their protection. The belfry door was to be locked on Shrove Tuesday because "an innumerable concourse of old and young," under the influence of pancakes and more, used to "jangle the bells and break the chime wires." * The Doncaster chimes were entrusted with the clock to the care of one Christopher Shaw at an Archidiaconal Visitation in 1691.† As eights came in more and more, the carillon system extended itself accordingly, tunes being used which had no modulation.

A good instance is Holbeach, specified thus on a brass plate in the tower :—

Wm. Stukeley, Esq : Capt. Edw. Northon

1st Ladies of London
2d Riggadoon
3d Oswald's Air
4th Lovely Nancy
5th Lady Chatham's Jigg
6th Seely's Gavott (?)
7th Three Gens Healths
8th A Minuet by Norris
9th 113 Psalm

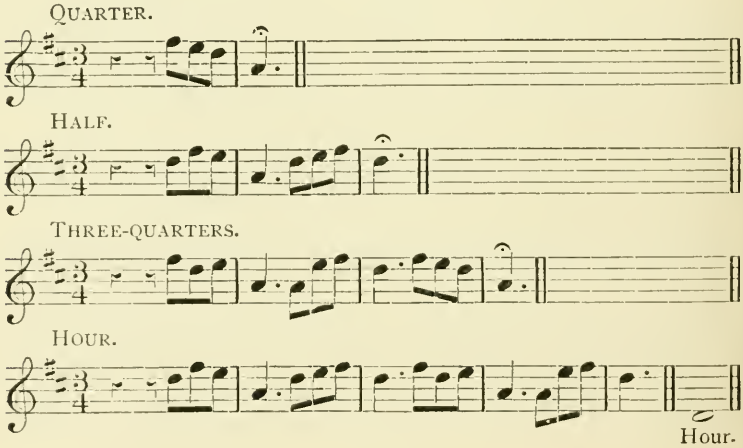
Thos. Everson & Edmd. Jarvis
Churchwardens
Edwd. Arnold, St. Neots, Fet.
1776

The William Stukeley here named was probably the well-known antiquary, who had been in practice as a surgeon at Holbeach, Boston, and Grantham, and died Rector of St. George the Martyr, Queen Square, London, in 1770. Other names of notables in various departments of learning are connected with chimes.

At St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, the chimes, for which

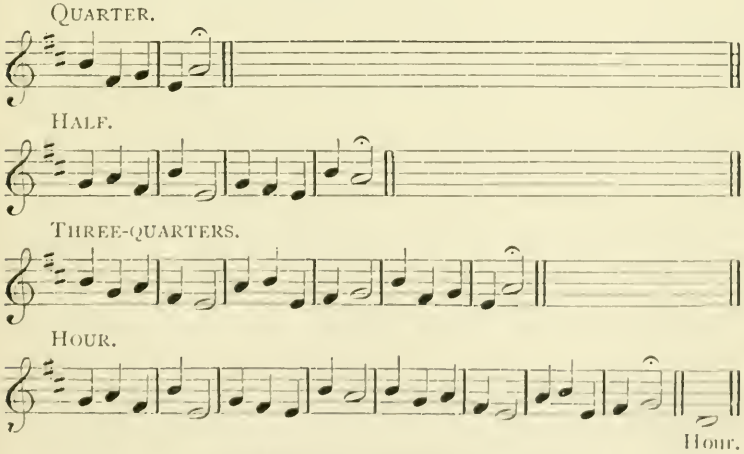
* Page 177. † Page 273.

£69 19*s.* 1*d.* had been collected in 1673, became discontinued when Phelps cast the eight middle bells of the present twelve in 1722. In March, 1793, the University agreed to put up a new clock, and arrangement was made for quarter-chimes. The whole work was completed in about eleven months. As the melody of these chimes is of world-wide fame, I give the history, as I derived it from Mr. Amps, then organist of Christ's College, to whom it came from Mr. Pratt, formerly organist of King's. At this time Dr. Jowett was Regius Professor of Laws, and Dr. Randall Regius Professor of Music, Crotch and Pratt being among his pupils. Jowett was an expert mechanician, and took the warmest interest in the new clock. The University authorities largely trusted to him, and he is credited with having taken young Crotch into his counsels. This precocious prodigy, only eighteen, but in his fifteenth year of instrumental performance, was said to have taken a movement in the fifth bar of the opening symphony of Handel's sublime air, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," and expanded it into the system of chimes to which few who travel are strangers—



"It was said by Mr. Pratt that when the chimes were first heard they were thought so strange that they were nicknamed 'Jowett's Hornpipe.' Very few, except those who had known Crotch, were aware that he had anything to do with their composition, and till they were copied for the Royal Exchange their merits were but little appreciated. But now they sound from many towers and are dear to many ears, and Crotch and Jowett may say in the words of Æneas, 'Quæ regis in terris nostri non plena laboris?'" * The arrangement is such that the chime-barrel revolves twice in an hour. The first revolution takes five movements—one from the first quarter, two from the second, and the former two out of the three of the third; the second revolution these same movements again, and in the same order—the last of the third quarter, and the four for the hour.

The same double-revolution-in-an-hour scheme was adopted by another great musician, Sir John Stainer, for the "Tennyson" Chimes, which first sounded from Freshwater Church in the Isle of Wight.



* *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, p. 106.

Other beautiful compositions are the "Derby" Chimes for ten bells, the machinery by the famous firm of John Smith and Sons of that town. Here the twice-in-an-hour revolution is used; and the "Chard" Chimes for eight bells, in which there is no such repetition.

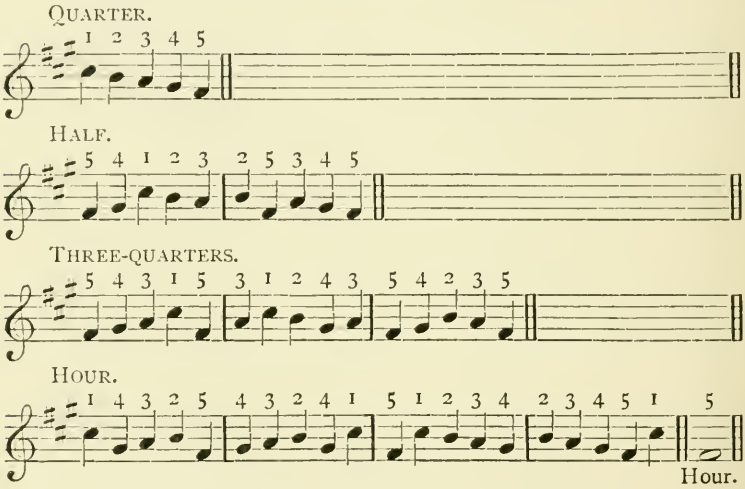
Messrs. Gillett and Bland, of Croydon, have also done much excellent work of this kind, notably for the carillon at Boston, consisting (with the octave of peal bells) of forty-four bells; thirty-six smaller ones and the tenor, weighing 28 cwt. 1 qr. 1¼ lb., from the foundry of Mons. A. L. J. Vanaerschodt at Louvain. When this famous tower was struck by lightning in the storm of August 5, 1900, the bells were not injured, though the tenor was hurled down, and the frame shattered. Subjoined is a list of the notes and weights of the tenants of "Boston Stump," who led the way for other carillons, as at Eaton Hall, Cheshire, at Chertsey, at Cattistock, Dorset, and divers other places.

No.	Note.	Diameter.	Weight.
1	E♭	6⅞ in.	19¾ lb.
2	D	7 in.	18½ lb.
3	D♭	7 in.	18 lb.
4	C	7¼ in.	19½ lb.
5	B	7⅜ in.	20¼ lb.
6	B♭	7⅝ in.	20¾ lb.
7	A	7⅝ in.	20¼ lb.
8	A♭	7¾ in.	17¾ lb.
9	G	8⅛ in.	19¼ lb.
10	G♭	8¾ in.	25½ lb.
11	F	8½ in.	21½ lb.
12	E	8⅞ in.	24½ lb.
13	E♭	9⅜ in.	26½ lb.

No.		Note.	Diameter.	Weight.
14		D	$9\frac{5}{8}$ in.	1 qr. 2 lb.
15		D♭	$10\frac{1}{4}$ in.	1 qr. 10 lb.
16		C	$10\frac{3}{4}$ in.	1 qr. $12\frac{1}{4}$ lb.
17		B	$10\frac{3}{4}$ in.	1 qr. 13 lb.
18		B♭	$11\frac{1}{8}$ in.	1 qr. $15\frac{1}{4}$ lb.
19		A	$11\frac{1}{4}$ in.	1 qr. 19 lb.
20		A♭	$11\frac{5}{8}$ in.	1 qr. 20 lb.
21		G	$12\frac{1}{4}$ in.	1 qr. $26\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
22		G♭	$12\frac{3}{4}$ in.	1 qr. 26 lb.
23		F	$12\frac{1}{2}$ in.	1 qr. 27 lb.
24		E	14 in.	2 qr. $18\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
25		E♭	$14\frac{1}{2}$ in.	3 qr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
26		D	$14\frac{7}{8}$ in.	3 qr. 7 lb.
27		D♭	$16\frac{1}{8}$ in.	3 qr. $14\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
28		C	$16\frac{7}{8}$ in.	1 cwt. 0 qr. $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
29		B	$18\frac{3}{8}$ in.	1 cwt. 1 qr. $9\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
30		B♭	$18\frac{5}{8}$ in.	1 cwt. 1 qr. $26\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
31		A	$19\frac{1}{4}$ in.	1 cwt. 1 qr. 24 lb.
32		A♭	21 in.	1 cwt. 3 qr. 17 lb.
33		G	22 in.	2 cwt. 0 qr. 24 lb.
34		G♭	$22\frac{3}{4}$ in.	2 cwt. 1 qr. $18\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
35		F	$24\frac{1}{2}$ in.	3 cwt. 2 qr. $\frac{1}{4}$ lb.
36		E	$25\frac{5}{8}$ in.	3 cwt. 3 qr. $12\frac{1}{4}$ lb.
	Peal			
37	Treble	E♭	...	7 cwt. 2 qr. $16\frac{3}{4}$ lb.
38	2nd	D		
39	3rd	C		
40	4th	B♭		
41	5th	A♭		
42	6th	G		
43	7th	F		
44	Tenor	E♭	4 ft. $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.	28 cwt. 1 qr. $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb.

The tenor, when I visited the tower in 1868, was rather over-flattened by chipping, and of the whole thirty-six only four are "maidens."

The Norwich Cathedral Chimes are on the system of one revolution of the chime-barrel in the course of an hour. I am greatly obliged to Mr. C. E. Holden, of that city, for the detail. They were put up a little more than thirty years ago at the expense of the late Dean Goulburn and Mrs. Goulburn, and are said to have been arranged by Precentor Medley.



The tenor is in F♯, and the key is F♯ Minor.

In the view of ringers these are the first five of a ring of six, and the tenor would have been E.

In Belgium the Carilloneur with his system of a manual keyboard and pedals is often proclaiming his skill and the tunefulness of his bells. Dr. Burney,* travelling on the Continent in 1772, was rather annoyed at the confusion caused by the overtones of so many of these bells struck in

* *The Present State of Music in Germany*, i. 16.

rapid succession. He calls it a "Gothic invention," and a "barbarous taste," and is pleased that neither French, English, nor Italians have encouraged it. At St. Giles's, Edinburgh, however, is something very much like it. Here are twenty-three bells arranged outside on the top of the tower. To prevent "clocking," a spring is attached to each clapper, and by wires and cranks the whole are connected with a keyboard manipulated by a lady. One man, Mr. George Morris, steeple-keeper at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, used to chime six bells unaided, one on each foot, one in each hand, one on each elbow; and having the freedom which comes of "clocking," he would sound what sequences he pleased. It is not to be recommended; but a few hands can, after a little training, produce a like result. At Harwich, I am told that the favourite tune to Keble's beautiful hymn, "Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear," sounds out from the tower on Sunday evenings, missing, of course, the fifth note in the first line.

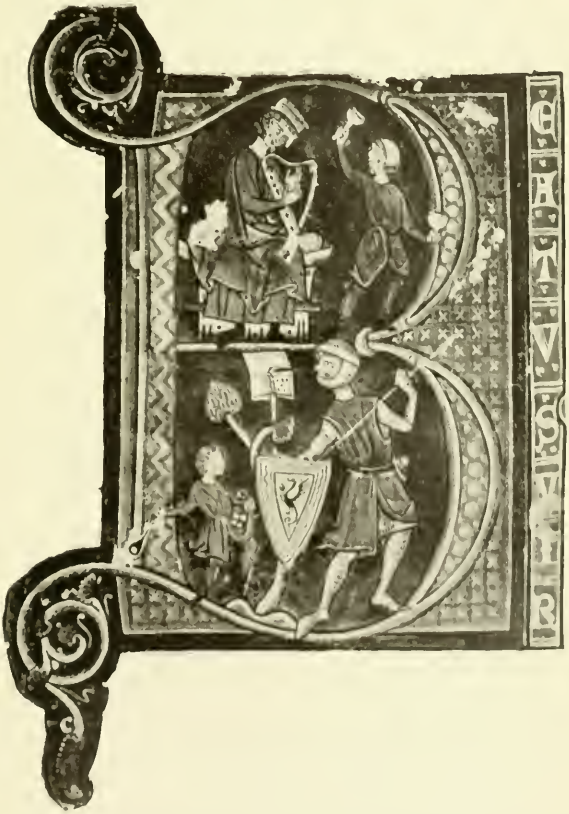
When a priest was called to *Communio Infirmorum*, he caused a handbell to be rung before him; it was the custom to muffle this bell in the sick-room, as shown in an illustration to Clifford's Pontifical, C.C.C. Camb. (Fig. 8).

The practice of perambulating a town with one bell or more after a death, or at a funeral, or year-day, was very general. The will of John Baret again affords an example. After bequeathing his house to "the priest of Seynt Marie Churche," on the condition "he to pray for my soule at eu'y meel, mete, or sopeer, and gif he gynne gracys and sey De profundis he to reherse my name John Baret openly that they y^t here it may sey God haue mercy on his soul," he arranges for a year-day procession for his soul, and for "his faderys and his modrys, the bellemeen to have iiij^d. for that service."

And in 1510, Jone Mason, of the same town, widow, directs the bellmen to go about the parish at her anniversary and earth-tide. A reaction, however, was setting in, for John Coote "will neyther ryngyn nor belman goynge," but his almsgivings and dinners on his thirty day "to be don in secret manner." Soon it would come to pass that the bellmen would take care to have their bells in musical sequence, the principles of tuning being very easily applicable to them. The excessive vibration if the tongue was off the striking-place, or the hard dull sound if it was not, would not be pleasing to the ear.

Another form of bell came in, of a more uniform thickness throughout, and springs were placed on each side of the tongue to keep it off the striking-place after the blow was given. In this way there came about the present system of sets of hand-bells, now exquisitely in tune, generally two bells to a man, by which the dark evenings about Christmas time are enlivened in town and village. I know of no allusion to this our present hand-bell ringing even in the Stuart period. Lord Bacon says, "The strength of the percussion is the principal cause of the loudness or softness of sounds, as in ringing of a hand-bell harder or softer," but there is no allusion to melody; nor, according to my experience, do any of our sets of hand-bells now in use indicate an earlier date than the eighteenth century. The oldest which I can remember was in West Suffolk, the work of Robert Wells, of Aldbourne in Wiltshire, probably about 1780. We get some idea of him from the following extract from the *Marlborough Journal* newspaper of Saturday, June 6, 1772, vol. ii. No. 63. Among the advertisements is—

"At the Bell-Foundery at Aldbourne, Wilts, Church-bells are cast in a most elegant and as musical a manner as in any Part of



INITIAL LETTERS OF KING PLAYING ON FOUR BELLS, AND OF BOY PLAYING WITH TWO HAND-BELLS (STORY OF DAVID)

FROM THIRTEENTH CENTURY PSALTER

Add. MS. [illegible], ff. [illegible]

the Kingdom, the Founder having made the Theory of Sounds as well as the nature of Metal his Chief Study; Also hangs the same, finding all Materials in a complete and concise manner; And also Hand-Bells prepared and strictly in Tune in any Key. Horse-bells, Clock and Room Bells, the neatest of their several kinds.

Likewise Mill Brasses Cast and Sold at the lowest Prices.

All orders will be punctually observed by Rob. Wells, Founder.

☞ He gives Ready Money and best Prices for Bell Metal." *

Another founder of hand-bells, to whom not only the ringer but also the listener owes a debt of gratitude, was Henry Symondson. His tuneful sets are all over the country, many bearing his name. Blessed with an excellent ear for music, he was for some years tuner to good old John Briant, of Hertford, and after the retirement of the latter and the break-up of the Hertford foundry, he attached himself to the Taylor family, witness the inscription on the fourth bell at Radbourn, Herts—

TAYLOR & SYMONDSON BELL-FOUNDERS
OXFORD, LONDON & LOUGHBORO' 1839.

In the development of the young ringer this hand-bell discipline is of the greatest service, and among our performers are now to be numbered several ladies, of whom some have proceeded to competent tower practice.

"Reversion to type" is not confined to the animal creation, and we must not leave the subject of these smaller bells without due notice of the existence of crotals in historic times, and, indeed, at the present day. As yet no one has arisen to tune them, to the best of my belief; and as the quality of sound given forth from their enclosed circumferences is of the poorest, perhaps it is not worth the trouble

* Lukis, *Account of Church Bells*, p. 10.

to get them into scale. Yet, as in the days of Aaron, small bells, closed or open, have had their ends to serve, and these two notices of them may be acceptable.

The first is from Congleton, Cheshire, and I cannot do better than give it in the words of Mr. Tyack—

"A curious custom formerly prevailed . . . on the Eve of Lammas Day, or S. Peter's Chains (August 1st). The chapel of the place—the parish church being at Astbury—was dedicated in the name of S. Peter *ad Vincula*, and consequently the local wake took place on that day; though (as is the case in so many instances) the alteration in the calendar has never been accepted there so far as this name is concerned, so that Congleton wake now takes place on the 12th of the month. For a long time it was customary for three acolytes to parade the town at midnight on the vigil, girt about with leather belts to which were hung a number of globular bells. The ceremony was known as 'ringing S. Peter's chains,' and ended with an address at the Market-cross on the duties of the coming festival. The bells, or 'chains,' fell afterwards into lay hands, and were used in a fashion more provocative of tipsy jollity than of devotion; so that finally the town authorities interposed, and took possession of the bells. They are now preserved at Congleton, among other relics of the past, by the corporation." *

The county is marked by another old crotal custom, of a more specifically mundane character, this being at Chester itself. Lysons, the county historian, thus describes it— †

"In 1609, Mr. William Lester, mercer, beinge Mayor of Chester, and Mr. Robert Amerye, ironmonger, Sherife of the city, at his own coste chief, did cause three silver cuppes or bells, to be made, of good value, which bells he appointed to be run for with horses, upon St. George's Daye, upon the Roode-Dee; that horse which did over rune the rest to have the best bell; the seconde to have the seconde bell for that year, putting in money, and for to —— and shuerties to deliver in the bells that day twelvemonth."

* *A Book about Bells*, p. 269. † Page 588.

The other bell was run for the same day upon the like conditions.

"Among the Corporation records are some old articles of a race for two bells; and likewise for a cup to be rung for at the rings; the bell appears to have been first given for a prize at the horse races at Chester in 1512. From this custom of running for a bell as a prize arose, it is probable, the proverb, 'to bear the bell.'"

A late mediæval development of the small-bell use shall close this chapter—the "Jack o' th' Clock." Those at St. Paul's perished, of course, in the fire of 1666. Those at St. Dunstan's were sold when the church was pulled down in 1830. Oxford, Horsham, Norwich, had them; and they still remain at Norwich. In Suffolk there are two, very near each other, one in the parish church of Blythburgh, the other in Southwold church (Fig. 50). In the last case a gift from a guild may be conjectured; and I should assign the date to the latter part of the fifteenth century. There is another early seventeenth-century Jack, in yeoman costume, on the fine rood-screen of the church of Minehead, Somerset, known as "Jack Hammer." One of the Dukes of Burgundy brought from Courtray to Dijon a celebrated clock which has two figures, a man and a woman, who strike the hours from one to twenty-four. The name commonly given to these figures is Jacquemart, which thus passed over the water and became our "Jack o' th' Clock." Some controversy has arisen over the origin of Jacquemart. One derivation was *jacco marchiardus*, a Low-latin word for a coat of mail (*jacque de mailles*). Plausible

Fig. 50.

as this may seem, a less philological origin may commend itself to the reader, the clock-maker Jacques Marck, or Jacquemart. It has been shown that there was a man of this name and calling at Lille in 1422, himself apparently a grandson of one of the same name, living at Courtray in 1360.* By the time of Elizabeth Jack o' th' Clock had become a "household word." Thrice does Shakespeare make use of it. He puts it into the mouth of Richard II., who says—

> "My time
> Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,
> While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' th' Clock." †

The great dramatist turns all nationalities into the Englishman; and we feel no surprise when in *Coriolanus*,‡ Menenius Agrippa, stopped by the guard at the Volscian camp, and then rather unexpectedly addressed by Coriolanus, says, "Now, you companion, I'll say an errand for you; you shall know now that I am in estimation; you shall perceive that a jack guardant cannot office me from my son Coriolanus." In *Richard III.* § Jack comes in splendidly—

> "*Buck.* My Lord,——
> *K. Rich.* Ay, what's o'clock?
> *Buck.* I am thus bold to put your grace in mind
> Of what you promised me.
> *K. Rich.* Well, but what's o'clock?
> *Buck.* Upon the stroke of ten.
> *K. Rich.* Well, let it strike.
> *Buck.* Why, let it strike?
> *K. Rich.* Because that, like a Jack, thou keep'st the stroke
> Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.
> I am not in the giving vein to-day."

* See Lacroix, *Les Arts de Moyen Age* (Paris, 1869).

† Act v. sc. 5. ‡ Act v. sc. 2. § Act iv. sc. 2.

CHAPTER XVIII

LEGENDS—TRADITIONS—MEMORIES

IN point of antiquity no object found in bell-marks can compare with the Fylfot. It is in truth a marvellous survival. Six centuries before the Christian era, under the name *Swaslika*, it was recognized as a Buddhist symbol. Next we find it as the hammer of Thor, in Scandinavian mythology. This instrument, also called Mjolner, had the peculiarity of returning to the hand of the god after having been thrown forth by him. It survived the extinction of Thor-worship, regarded as a general representation of strength and power, and appears in monumental brasses, on the earliest in England, that of Sir John D'Abernon senior (1277), at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, as also on that of Thomas de Hop (1320), at Kemsing, near Sevenoaks, and at a church in Essex.* It was reserved for Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, in his papers on the "Church Bells of Derbyshire," † which he kindly sent to me, first to discover the fylfot on bells. Connected with Thor, it was readily connected with the thunder of Thor's chariot, and as the power of bells in quelling thunderstorms was unquestioned, it is no matter for surprise that some founders adopted it as a quasi-heraldic "charge" in their

* "St. Leigh's" (whatever it may mean). North's *Church Bells of Lincolnshire*, p. 83.

† *Reliquary*, July, 1872, *et seq.*

shield-shaped marks. "Fulgura frango," in the old hexameters did not entirely give way to "Sabbata pango."

Four several fylfot-charged shields are engraved in *The Reliquary*, two with the symbol under the initials G. H., one under the initials R. H., and one under g, with a bell under b, and a double cross in pale. All these connect themselves with a foundry at Chesterfield, under one Ralph Hethcote, whose will is dated 1502. His son, Ralph II., died in 1525, and another son, George, in 1558. There was also another George, son of Ralph II. None of the fylfot bells are dated. The Thor symbol also occurs in the letter D, used instead of an initial cross on the fifth bell at Appleby, Lincolnshire, which also has an imperfect shield-stamp resembling that used by Thomas Bett of Leicester who died in 1538. So far as we can judge, no bells, save in the early half of the sixteenth century, have the fylfot, and these as yet are confined to Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Staffordshire, those in the last county being at Blithfield and Ellastone, both deserving further investigation. For a similar origin, Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt compares a mermaid, with a comb in her left hand and a mirror in her right hand, found at Appleby, Derbyshire. He notes, however, the appearance of this personage on tiles at St. Alban's and elsewhere. Perhaps in the Derbyshire instance it may be the crest of the Vernon family, so well known in those parts.

Richard of Cirencester, in his *Speculum*,* hands on a story about the Cambrian Saint Illtyd, said to have been ordained by Dubricius, Bishop of Llandaff, and to have led a holy life, adorned with divers miracles, in South Wales—

"Tradunt Historiæ Brittanicæ et Vita Sti. Eltuti, quod cum Rex Edgarus regionem Glamorganensium propter eorum inobedientiam

* III. 23.

devastaret, ablata fuit nola S. Eltuti, et in collo cuiusque equi suspensa. Qua de causa regi Edgaro hora meridiana quiescenti apparuit quidam pectus regis percutiens lancea. Unde post somnum iussit rex ut rapta restitueretur."

Mr. Rees gives the following in his translation of the Life of St. Illtyd, now in the British Museum: "Many scholars flowed to him, of which were these four, Samson, Paulinus. Gildas, and David; being learned they studied deeply, and many others like them." Well might a bell bear his name, for, like many of his kind, he had a miraculous bell of his own, He fled from royal persecution, to the great sorrow of his people. While they were indulging in lamentations,

"a certain person passed by who was a messenger of Gildas the historian, carrying a brazen bell, which was made by the said Gildas, to be brought to Saint David, a bishop, as a present in memory of former acquaintance and friendship, and as he passed by the cave, which was near the public road, the bell sounded without being moved by any human being. And Illtyd hearing the sweet sound came to the person who carried the bell, and proved the sweetness of the sound by moving it three times, and enquired of him where he was going, and from whom he carried the beautiful bell, which was more valuable than gold; who answering said, 'I am going and do carry this bell to Saint David, by the order of the celebrated Gildas.' Having mentioned this he departed, and came to the valley of Menavia, and presented the Bishop with the gift. When given, he moved the bell, but from the motion given it returned no sound; and the Bishop, being surprised at the wonderful circumstance, enquired of the messenger whether it had been moved and proved by any one on the way as he came. He being asked mentioned what had happened, as above related, and the Bishop believing it to be truly told said, 'I know that our master Illtyd wished to possess it on account of the sweetness of its sound, but he would not ask for it, having heard that it was sent to me as a gift from Gildas; but the Lord is not willing that I should have it; return therefore to the cave

without delay, and give to Saint Illtyd the aforesaid article, which he wished to have.' The messenger then returned to Illtyd, and executed the Bishop's orders, and left there its solitary inhabitant, who received the frequent visits of angels."

This being an ante-Conquestal story, I assign an early place in the chapter to it, and turn to the mediæval and Tudor-period notices of the influence of bells on thunder-storms, as bearing on our opening theme. The Scandinavian hammer idea certainly did not hold undisputed sway, that of the Divine message, as it were through a trumpet, commending itself more to the people. Thus in the *Golden Legend* Wynkyn de Worde says—

"It is said ye evil spirytes that ben in ye region of ye ayre doubte moche whan they here the belles ringen; and this is ye cause why the belles ringen whan it thundreth, and whan grete tempeste and rages of wether happen, to ye ende that ye feinds and wycked spirytes should ben abashed and flee and cease of ye movynge of tempeste."

Without bringing in diabolical agency, it is quite possible that the atmospheric vibration caused by the ringing of bells, especially large ones, may not be without effect on impending clouds charged with electricity, especially if it be resorted to while the clouds are yet coming together. More experiments are needed in this matter.

There are few West-Country legends better known than that of "The Silent Tower of Bottreau by the Severn Sea," the title used by that brilliant but somewhat erratic poet, Robert Stephen Hawker, Vicar of Morwenstow. The story shall first be given in his own words—*

* *Echoes from Old Cornwall*, p. 28.

1

"Tintadgel bells ring o'er the tide!
The boy leans on his vessel's side,
He hears that sound, and dreams of Home
Soothe the wild orphan of the foam.
'Come to thy God in time!'
Thus saith their pealing chime;
'Youth, manhood, old age past,
'Come to thy God at last!'

2

"But why are Bottreau's echoes still?
Her tower stands proudly on the hill;—
Yet the strange chough that home hath found,
The lamb lies sleeping on the ground.
'Come to thy God in time!'
Should be her answering chime;
'Come to thy God at last!'
Should echo on the blast.

3

"The ship rode down with courses free,
The daughter of a distant sea,
Her sheet was loose, her anchor stor'd,
The merry Bottreau-bells on board:—
'Come to thy God in time!'
Rung out Tintadgel chime;
Youth, manhood, old age past,
'Come to thy God at last!'

4

"The pilot heard his native bells
Hang on the breeze in fitful swells;
'Thank God!' with reverent brow, he cried,
'We make the shore with evening's tide.'

'Come to thy God in time!'
It was his marriage chime;
'Youth, manhood, old age past!'
His bell must ring at last.

5

"'Thank God! thou whining knave, on land,
But thank, at sea, the steersman's hand,—
The captain's voice above the gale,—
Thank the good ship and ready sail!'
'Come to thy God in time!'
Sad grew the boding chime;
'Come to thy God at last!'
Boom'd heavy on the blast.

6

"Up rose that sea as if it heard
The Mighty Master's signal word!
What thrills the captain's whitening lip?
The death-groans of his sinking ship!
'Come to thy God in time!'
Swung deep the funeral chime;
'Grace, mercy, kindness past,
Come to thy God at last!'

7

"Long did the rescued pilot tell,
When gray hairs o'er his forehead fell,
While those around would hear and weep,
That fearful judgment of the deep!
'Come to thy God in time!'
He read his native chime;
'Youth, manhood, old age past!'
His bell would ring at last.

8

"Still when the storm of Bottreau's waves
Is waking in his weedy caves,
Those bells, that sullen surges hide,
Peal their deep tones beneath the tide.
'Come to thy God in time!'
Thus saith the ocean-chime;
'Storm, billow, whirlwind past,
Come to thy God at last!'"

The account given by Wilkie Collins * adds some uncertain detail, as that Tintagel bells had rung for Arthur's funeral. There is an allusion to the transmigration of the Royal Soul in the form of the Cornish chough in Hawker's suppressed *Records of the Western Shore*, if my memory does not deceive me—

"And mark that bird of sable hue,
Talons and beak all red with blood—
The spirit of the long-lost King
Passed in that shape from Camlan's flood."

Forrabury Church, unquestionably the "Bottreau" of Hawker, a name taken from the great family of the place, certainly had three bells in 1553, as testified by the Edwardian inventory. This, of course, taken by itself, would not be conclusive against the legend. The tower is a well-known landmark, standing about 350 feet above sea-level, and surrounded by common land and pasture.

Romantic narratives about stolen bells are endless. I give one that I picked up while walking over the Dorset Downs from Blandford to Damerham in the autumn of 1852. I had shaped my course by Horton to see Monmouth's ash on

* *Rambles beyond Railways*, pp. 248–250.

Horton heath, and noticing a small ruined tower, I asked a man whom I met what place it was, and found that it was Knowlton. He also told me that at a very distant period there was a valuable bell in that tower, so much so that it excited the cupidity of some fellows, who planned to steal it, take it to the coast, and having crossed the Channel, sell it in France. This, considering the loneliness of the church, would be no very difficult matter; but somehow, after they had got the bell out of the tower, they were discovered, pursued, and overtaken at the bridge of Sturminster Marshall, and being unable to proceed further with it, they threw it into the Stour, and made off. The Knowlton people let down ropes and pulled it up nearly within reach of hand, when down it went, without there being any apparent reason for the ropes breaking. A second and a third attempt were attended with the same result, till, weary and dispirited, they gave it up, and returned to Knowlton. The old man said that there was a verse extant to the effect that—

> "All the devils in hell,
> Could never pull up Knowlton bell."

Thus runs the story in my MS. A., containing my juvenile researches, with my comment, "The tale seems to me very pointless and incomplete." This is a not unfair specimen of the kind of tradition about stolen bells. The Dorset historian, Hutchins, may be consulted for a more prosaic version, possibly more accurate.

At Worcester a Dane is said to have stolen a heavy sanctus bell, to have been caught and flayed alive by the people. Some of the traditional skin is, I believe, yet to be seen on an old door in the Cathedral Library. Sanctus bells, by the way, are notoriously not heavy. The Jersey

episode is another example of the disregard of all probabilities, even in the part of the history which need not be incredible. All the twelve churches in the island are credited with beautiful and intrinsically precious rings of bells. These the states determined to sell in order to raise money for war expenses. They were accordingly collected. Allowing for only five bells for each tower, there would have been a good three-score of them, and if they were so beautiful in sound, 6 cwt. would be quite a low estimate for an average weight. At this rate there would have been at least 18 tons of metal shipped for France. The ship foundered, and the bells went to the bottom. Here the credible gives way to the incredible. To this day, when a storm is impending, their sound comes up from the briny depths, and it is said that the fishermen of St. Ouen's Bay always go down to the beach before starting on one of their expeditions to listen for "the bells upon the wind." If their tones are heard they will not leave the shores, but if there is silence they embark without hesitation. One who took the trouble to hear the story on the spot has gracefully put it into verse—

"'Tis an omen of death to the mariner
Who wearily fights with the sea,
For the foaming surge is his winding-sheet,
And his funeral knell are we;—
His funeral knell our passing bell,
And his winding-sheet the sea."

This legend is quoted by Ellacombe in the *Miscellaneous Scraps*, appended to his *Church Bells of Devon*,* from an article in the *Penny Post*,† written evidently by an enthusiast in campanalogical traditions, who, in several points, improved

* Page 445. † VIII. 31.

considerably upon Sir Henry Spelman's relation of the same incident. The great antiquary tells us that—

"at the end of Queen Mary's days Sir Hugh Paulet pulled down the bells of the churches of Jersey; and sending them to S. Malo's in Bretagne, fourteen of them were drowned at the entrance to that harbour. Whereupon it is a bye-word at this day in those parts, when any strong east wind bloweth there, to say, 'The bells of Jersey now ring.'"

This is a specimen of the way in which a story gathers bulk and colour as the years pass by.

Another drowned bell is recorded in Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege.* He was born at Congham, Norfolk, in 1564, and tells us that in his childhood he had heard "much talk of the pulling down of bells" in his native county, and "that in sending them over sea, some were drowned in one haven, some in another, as at Lynn, Wells or Yarmouth." This talk did not appear to have made much impression upon him at the time, but, he continues—

"The truth of it was lately discovered by God Himself; for that He, sending such a dead neap (as they call it) as no man living was known to have seen the like, the sea fell so far back from the land at Hunstanton that the people, going much further to gather oysters than they had done at any time before, they there found a bell with the mouth upward, sunk into the ground to the very brim. They carried the news thereof to Sir Hamon L'Estrange, lord of the town, who shortly after sought to have weighed up and gained the bell; but the sea never since going so far back, they hitherto could not find the place again;" adding, "This relation I received from Sir Hamon himself, being my brother-in-law."

He had married a daughter of John L'Estrange, of Hunstanton.

It is melancholy to find the episcopal office degraded by

these venal and dishonest transactions, as in the case of Arthur Bulkeley, Bishop of Bangor. No sooner was he raised to his high office, in 1541, than he sold the "five fair bells belonging to his cathedral, and went to the sea-side to see them shipped away; but at that instant was stricken blind, and so continued to the day of his death." This Spelman calls "a sad peal at parting," and compares the stroke of blindness to that "wherewith Alcimus the high-priest was stricken, for offering some sacrilegious violence to the temple.* These Bangor bells, be it observed, seem to have reached their destination safely.

At Crosmere, Salop, the writer in the *Penny Post* already mentioned gives a tradition of a submerged chapel in one of the lakes in the parish, adding that "the villagers still tell how that constantly the bells may be heard ringing beneath the still waters." He also records cases of bells heard underground in Notts, Essex, and Lancashire. The first is near Raleigh, where, centuries ago, a whole village with its church is believed to have been swallowed up by an earthquake. In days long ago the people used to assemble on Christmas Day in this valley to listen to the ringing of the buried bells, audible, it was said, if only you would put your ear to the ground and attend carefully. Within the last half-century the old people would encourage their young friends to go to the valley and hear the merry ringing. So too at Romford, where the old church was pulled down towards the close of the fifteenth century, the site is still preserved in the name "Old Church," retained by a meadow. Here on St. Andrew's Day the cheerful bells are alleged to have been heard, and a similar tradition pertains to a place called "The Church" at Kilgrimel, near Blackpool, where Christmas Eve is the time for listening.

* Pages 211, 212. Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 55; Jos., *Ant.*, xii. 10. 6. In both of these places sleeplessness is recorded, not blindness.

Another of these terrible stories comes from a village in East Norfolk, on a tongue of land between the rivers Bure and Wensum and on the edge of the marsh. It was till recent days the parish of Tunstall or Tonstall, but is now united to Halvergate. The tower is in ruins, as the vicar, the Rev. H. Dallimore, tells me. A tradition, however, exists about the bells, which appeared in *The Quarterly Review*, and is still a matter of common talk in the parish. The *Review* version of it runs—

"According to a tradition at Tunstall in Norfolk the Churchwardens and Parson disputed for the possession of some bells which had become useless because the tower was burnt, while the 'Quarrel' was in progress the Arch-fiend stepped in and carried off the bells. The Parson pursued him with hot haste and much Latin, but the evil one dived into the earth with his ponderous burthen, and the place where he disappeared is marked by a boggy pool, popularly known by the name of Hell Hole. Notwithstanding the aversion of the powers of darkness to such sounds, even these bells are sometimes permitted to favour their native place with a ghostly peal."

This legend is also related by Tyack,* who adds a most convincing piece of evidence: "Of all this there is ample proof; you have but to go to Hell-hole and there you will frequently see bubbles rising from the surface of the water; which show conclusively that the bells are sinking, ever sinking, down to the bottomless pit."

Mr. Walters, in his *Church Bells of Shropshire*,† records a ringing custom at Wentnor, which, according to the Rev. H. North's notes, was called a "Dead Man's Peal," rung annually on Church Stretton Fair Day, the last Thursday in November, in memory of one Smith of Wentnor, who lost his way and

* *A Book about Bells*, p. 284. † Page 190.

his life in crossing the Longmynd at that time of the year. The family left an annual sum for the ringers for this office, in order that the sound of the bells might be a guide to travellers crossing the hills. The money seems to be lost, but the ringers out of good will continue the traditional peal.

The death of Bishop Grosseteste in 1253 was related to have been marked by mysterious ringing. Matthew Paris, on the authority of John de Crackale, a clerk in the Bishop's confidence, and of good repute with all his acquaintance, tells how Fulco Basset, Bishop of London, happened to be in the neighbourhood of Buckden, Hunts, the residence of Bishops of Lincoln at the time, and heard the melodious sound as it were of a great convent bell coming from the sky, there being no convent near.

"On the same night," he proceeds, "also certain Minorites, who were journeying in haste towards Buckden, where Robert Bishop of Lincoln then was,—for he was a comforter and father to the Franciscans and Dominicans—lost their way in the royal forest of Wauberge, and while wandering about, heard in the air a sound as of bells, amongst which they clearly distinguished one bell of sweeter note than any they had heard before. When the dawn appeared they met some foresters, of whom, after obtaining directions to enable them to regain the right road, they inquired what meant that solemn peal of bells which they had heard in the direction of Buckden; to which the foresters replied that they had not heard, and did not then hear anything, though the sound still greatly filled the air. Greatly wondering, the brethen made their way to Buckden, and were there told that at the very time of night when they had heard those melodious sounds the Bishop of Lincoln had breathed forth his happy spirit." *

At Lincoln itself a similar manifestation is recorded as at the burial of the child-martyr, Hugh, when—

* *Hist. Maj.* V. 408, translated by Stevenson, *Grosseteste*, p. 405.

"A' the bells of merrie Lincoln
Without men's hands were rung;
And a' the books of merrie Lincoln
Were read without men's tongue;
And ne'er was such a burial
Sin' Adam's days begun."

Another St. Hugh, of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln, one of the predecessors of Grosseteste, had his year-day (November 17) honoured by annual ringing for some three centuries, as attested by entries in the churchwardens' accounts in several parishes in the county.

Ellacombe,* in speaking of the towerless church of East Bergholt on the south border of Suffolk, quotes a tradition that Cardinal Wolsey was engaged in the work of building the church when he fell into disgrace, and so the tower was never finished. Certainly the whole work was not depending on him only, if we may judge from the will of Robert Cole, of Stratford, Suffolk, cloth-maker, 1527:—†

"I will that my executors, after my departure, at times convenient, do deliver or cause to be delivered to the use and building of the Church of East Bergholt as much freestone as shall make up the work there, that is to say the body of the same church with the North Aisle, according to such promise as I have made."

This bequest is not inconsistent with Wolsey's idea of building the tower. He was then well up in dignity and wealth, holding the See of Durham *in commendam* with the Archbishopric of York. The cage still contains one bell by Henry Jordan, who died in 1468.

But one legend must not stand in the way of another, which says "it was far back in the fifteenth century first

* *Miscellaneous Scraps*, appended to *Church Bells of Devon*, p. 501.
† *New England Historic Genealogical Register*, L. 419.

erected in another corner of the churchyard, but the squire was so annoyed at the sound of the chimes that he had the curious building removed, so that the intervening church might deaden the sound." * The bell-house is only on a brick foundation about a foot above ground, and the bells are rung from the stock, without wheel or rope.

I may be excused for wandering over the border, to bring a Scotch story from Kincardineshire, † the sole completed Caledonian county for our lore. Two bells were cast at the same time, the better for Strachan, the worse for Birse. As they were being brought up the Dee valley in the same cart they got changed, a local saying arising, "As clear as the bell at Birse," which parish gets the credit of what was meant for Strachan. "If there is anything in this story, which is very doubtful," says Mr. Eeles, "it must refer to an older bell than that now at Birse, which was recast in 1813 from one dated 1675." I have mentioned the Vernon medal on a bell at Brixton in the Isle of Wight dated 1741. The Portobello victory is likewise recorded on the largest of the three bells at St. Just, Cornwall, bearing the same date, with the names of James Reynolds and James Tregere churchwardens, "and Admiral Vernon." This is rather staggering, but the idea is that the parishioners made him honorary churchwarden in commemoration of the "six ships" victory. Much could be said as to memories excited by bells, but some can come into the next chapter.

In bidding farewell to traditions and memorials one cannot fail to be struck with the evolution of the legend, "Mighty things from small beginnings rise," and a slender foundation has to support a vast superstructure.

* *Daily Mail*, August 15, 1900.

† Eeles, *Bells of Kincardineshire*, p. 14.

CHAPTER XIX

BELL POETRY

A DANGEROUS subject is this. Those who, like the character in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, "have the poetic element uncommon strong," must not be disappointed if our selection contains mainly versified prose. Not that the greatest of our bards are indifferent to the charms of steeple-music, to which there are allusions in most of Shakespeare's plays, and more than allusions in Milton, Tennyson, and many of our most revered poets. This chapter will be devoted to pieces dealing more directly with our subject, and the transcendental element will not be so conspicuous as the more humble descriptive and the hypothetically humorous.

To begin with a fulfilment, there follows the epic of Dr. Richard Corbet on the Oxford Great Tom of 1612. Some day the skits in these facetious lines will perchance receive illumination from one interested in the writer or in the subject, or in both. The learned doctor became Bishop of Oxford in 1628, and was translated to Norwich in 1632. He is the author of "The Distracted Puritan," in Percy's *Reliques*, a composition which cannot have done much to heal the distractions of his time. In the fifth stanza we should like to know the surname of "Myles," and what founder is designated by "Broute," or "Broutes." It is probably a skit.

Perhaps the MS. has "Bronte," a play on thunder. No name like it is known to us. The joke in the last couplet is a reminder of the inscription on the recast bell at Okeford Fitzpaine, Dorset, preserved by Hutchins. The references to measurement show the technical interest taken at the time. The original MS. is in the Ashmolean collection, 36 and 37, fol. 260–1.

"Bee dum you infant chimes, thump not the mettle
That nere outrung a tinker and his kettle.
Cease all your petty larums, for to-day
Yonge Tom's resurrection is from the clay.
And know when Tom shall ring his loudest knells,
The big'st of you'll be thought but Dinner Bells.

"Old Tom's growne yonge againe—the fiery cave
Is now his cradle that was erst his grave.
Hee grewe upp quickly from his mother earth,
For all you see is not an howre's birth:
Looke on him well—my life I dare engage,
You nere nere saw preteyer babie of his age.

"Some take his measure by the rule—some by
The Jacob's staffe take his profunditie:
And some his altitude; some bouldly sweare
Yonge Tom's not like the old; but Tom nere feare
The Critiche Geometrician's lyne,
If thou as loude as ere thou didst ringe nyne.

"Tom did noe sooner peepe from under ground
But straight *St. Marie's* * tenor lost his sounde.
Oh how his Maypole's founder's hart did swell
With full moone sydes of joy, when that crackt bell,
Choaked with envie, and his admiration,
Rung like a quart pott to the congregation.

* "The very day that Tom was cast, St. Marie's tenor was burst in a peale."

"Myles,* what's the matter? Belles thus out of square
I hope St. Marye's Hall wont longe forbeare,
Your Cockscombe-pate, the Clock hanges dumb in towre,
And knowes not that foure quarters makes an howre.
Now *Broutes* † joyes ringe out, the Churlish Cur
Nere laughes aloude till great belles catch the mur.

"This Bell is proude and hopes noe other
But that in time hee shal be great Tom's brother;
Thou art wise if this thou wishest: be it soe,
Let one henn hatch you both; for thus much know,
Hee that can cast great Christchurch Tom so well,
Can easily cast St. Marye's greatest bell.

"Rejoyce with Christchurch—look higher Oseney,
Of Gyante Belles the famous treasury:
The base vast thunderinge Clocke of Westminster,
Grave Tom of Linconne—Hugh Excester—
Are but Tom's eldest brothers, and perchance
Hee may call cozen with the bell of Ffrance.

"Nere grieve, old Oseney, at thy heavy fall,
Thy reliques build thee up againe: they all
Florish to thy glory; thy sole fame
When thou are not will keepe great Oseney's name,
This Tom was infant of thy mighty steeple,
Yet hee is lord controwler of a people.

"Tom lately went his progresse, and lookt ore
What hee nere saw in many yeares before.
But when he saw the *old foundation* ‡
And little hope of separation,
He burst with griefe, and lest he should not have
Due pomp, hee's his own bellman to the grave;

* "The Clarke of the Universitie."
† "The name of the Bell-caster."
‡ "Christ Church." Qy. of the gateway?

"And that there might of Tom bee still strange mention
He carried to the grave a new invention:
They drew his browne bread face on pretty gines *
And made him stalke upon two rowlinge pinnes,
But Sander Hill † swore twice or thrice by heaven,
Hee nere sate such a loafe into the oven.

"But Tom did Sanders, his Cyclops Maker,
As much as hee did Sander Hill the baker,
Therefore loud thunderinge Tom be this thy pride,
When thou this motto shalt have on thy side—
Great World, one Alexander conquered thee,
But two as mightie men scarce conquered mee.

"Brave constant spirit, none could make thee turne
Though hanged, drawne, quartered, till they made the burne,
Yet not for this nor tenn times more be sory
Synst thou wast martyred for the Churches glorie.
But for thy meritorious sufferinge
Thou shortly shalt to heaven goe in a stringe!
And though wee grieve when thou wast thumpt and bang[d],
We all be glad (Great Tom) to see thee hanged."

This for a bell. In praise of ringing there are two compositions in Fabian Stedman's *Tintinnalogia*, 1668. One is entitled "On the Ingenious Art of Ringing," and alleged to be "by an Ancient Author;" but a very cursory examination will show to a critic of ordinary altitude the hollowness of the claim to antiquity.

"What music is there that compared may be
To well tun'd bells enchanting melody!
Breaking with their sweet sound the willing air,
And in the list'ning ear the soul ensnare;
The ravisht air such pleasure loath to lose,
With thousand echoes still prolongs each close;

* Engines. † "Christ Church butler."

And gliding stream which in the vallies trills,
Assists its speed unto the neighbouring hills;
Where in the rocks and caves, with hollow grounds,
The warbling lightsome element rebounds.
This for the musick; In the Action's health,
And every bell is a *wit's* Commonwealth;
For here by them we plainly may discern,
How that civility we are to learn.
The Treble to the Tenor doth give place
And goes before him for the better grace,
And when they chance to change, 'tis as a dance,
They foot A GALLIARD À LA MODE DE FRANCE.
An eighteen score's a figure dance, but Grandsire
Hath the jig-steps, and Tendrings Peal doth answer
The manner of CORANTS: A plain six-score
Is like a SARABAND, the motion slower.
When bells ring round, and in their order be,
They do denote how Neighbours should agree:
But if they clam, the harsh sound spoils the sport,
And 'tis like women keeping DOVERCOURT,
For when all talk there's none can lend an ear
The other's story, and her own to hear;
But pull and hall, straining for to sputter
What they can hardly afford time to utter.
Like as a valiant captain in the field,
By his conduct, doth make the foe to yield;
Ev'n so, the leading bell keeping true time,
The rest do follow, none commits a crime:
But if one soldier runs, perhaps a troop
Seeing him gone, their heart begins to droop:
Ev'n so the fault of one bell spoils a ring,
(And now my PEGASUS has taken wing)."

Stedman's other ode makes no pretensions to archæological importance. It is entitled "The Grandsire Bob," and was composed "Upon the Presentation of Grandsire Bob to the Colledge of Youths by the Author of that Peal."

"Gentlemen of the noble crew,
Of Colledge Youths—there lately blew
A wind, which to my noddle flew
(Upon a daye, when as it snew)
Which to my brains the vapors drew,
And there began to work and brew
Till in my Pericranium grew
Conundrums, how some peal that's new
Might be compos'd; and to pursue
These thoughts (which did so whet and hew
My flat invention) and to shew
What might be done, I strait withdrew
Myself to ponder—whence did accrue
This Grandsire Bob, which unto you
I dedicate; for there's but few
Besides so ready at their Queue
(Especially at the first view)
To apprehend a thing that's new,
Tho' they'll pretend and make a shew,
As if the intricat'st they knew,
What Bob doth mean, and Grandsire true,
And read the course without a clue
Of the new peal: Yet tho' they screw
Their shallow brains, they'll ne'er unglue
The method on't: (and I'm a Jew
If I don't think this to be true,)
They see no more on't than blind Hugh.
Well, let their tongues run Tityre tu,
Drink muddy Ale, or else French Lieue,
Whilst we our sport and art renew,
And drink good Sack till sky looks blew,
So Grandsire bids you all adieu.

R. R."

About a century elapsed between these tintinnalogic effusions and the appearance of more lengthy and stately *Campanalogia,* by one candidly taking the *nom de plume* of

J. Copywell. His real name was William Woty. It was printed for the author and sold by J. Coote, in Paternoster Row, 1761.

"Ye sacred nine! Assist a daring bard
Who scorns the vulgar hackney'd road to fame
Parnassian—one who aims, elate with hope
Adventurous, to reach your sweet abodes
Through paths, which poet never trod before;
Oh! harmonise my numbers, while I sing
The Art of Ringing. Let the measure sound
Tuneful as is my theme, nor think it aught
Ignoble, insignificant. For health
This exercise awaits—and hence the nerves
Brace into strength. Hence too the life-blood rolls
In sprightlier torrents through the swelling veins,
And ev'ry manly muscle looks robust
Such as distended great Alcides' arms.
To you, my countrymen! I strike the lyre,
Ye Britons! who delight to ring the change
Of bells melodious, smile! Oh! smile applause,
Ye festive College Youths, attend my song,
And let the sentiment supply the rhime.

"Critics! to your good nature much I owe,
But should your taste this barren choice condemn,
I shall not weep. I shall not rend my hair,
Nor let my tongue speak aught in your dispraise.
Enough for me, if those for whom I breathe
The voluntary pipe, applaud the lay.
First the Youths try one single bell to sound,
For to perfection who can hope to rise,
Or climb the steep of science, but the man,
Who builds on steady principles alone,
And method regular! Not he who aims
To plunge at once into the midst of art,
Self confident and vain. Amaz'd he stands

Confounded and perplex'd, to find he knows
Least, when he thinks himself the most expert.
As well the school-boy might assume the skill
Of rhetoricians, and as well declaim
In British periods, whom his tutor taught
Beginning at the Alphabet's extreme.

"In order due in Rounds they next proceed,
And each attunes numerical in turn.
Adepts in this, on three bells they assay
Their infant skill. Complete in this they try
Their strength on four, and musically bold
Full four and twenty changes they repeat.
Next, as in practice, gradual they advance,
Ascending unto five, they ring a peal
Of Grandsires, pleasing to a tuneful soul.
On they proceed to six. What various peals
Join'd with plain Bobs loud echo thro' the air
While ev'ry ear drinks in the harmonick sound!
With Grandsire triples then the steeple shakes
On seven with tenor behind. From eight alone
The musical Bob-Major next is heard.
Cators with tenor behind on nine they ring,
On ten Bobs-royal, from eleven Cinques,
Accompanied with tenor, forth they pour,
And the Bob-Maximus results from twelve.

"These are the rules, on which depends the art.
But yet from these, far other peals are heard
Of infinite variety. Suffice,
The chief are mentioned. Endless were the task
To record and enumerate the whole.
To you, ye seniors! I submit, pleased most
To stand corrected there, where most I err.
Hail to thee Geary! * tho' expert of skill
In matters naval—though the azure deep

* In command of the Channel Fleet, June, 1780.

Thou know'st—tho' navigation has disclos'd
Her stores to thee, pregnated thy mind
With useful knowledge.—Yet dost thou vouchsafe
To patronize this manly British art.
Nor Blackwell! * thou, not least, altho' the last,
In silence be forgotten. At thy fame
Detraction lays her finger on her lip,
Tho' sullen, yet convinc'd, and (truth to tell!)
Envy herself to admiration turns.
But Hardham! † shall my young, good-natur'd muse
Be silent in thy praise? No—she applauds
Thy strict sincerity of mind, and deigns
To call thee no mean patron of this art.
Nor may'st thou blush to own it, since thy soul
With milk of human kindness is replete;
And truth and open honesty are thine.
Long may'st thou live accompanied with health,
The sweetest, comeliest progeny of love!
Without whose presence, all that meets the eye,
Wears an unpleasing aspect, and the hand
Of wealth devolves her golden tide in vain.

"Be others pleas'd with trifling gew-gaw sights
Unmeaning—but let me behold a band
Selected, and of twelve compos'd, with arms
Ascending, and descending, stand, while health
Sits wreathing roses on their damask cheek
And jocund pleasure dances in their eyes;
While ev'ry bell strikes true, and not a note
Of jarring discord hurts attention's ear.
Toe-wracking gout! begone—with limping foot
Hobble on other ground. To man of ease
Who sits in pamper'd state in elbow chair
Thy steps direct. He shall support thee long
And wrap thee in the flannel's warmest coat.

* M.P. for Cirencester.
† Eminent tobacconist and snuffman of London.

"Bells what can equal? is not public joy
By them demonstrated, when gales benign
Waft o'er victorious news—when Prussia's King,
Pours his dread thunder o'er th' ensanguin'd field,
Scatt'ring the Austrian host, while all dismay'd
Their leaders own him victor of the day?
These for the sacred, nuptial tie proclaim,
And ev'ry sound and ev'ry varied peal,
Call smiles of transport from the happy pair.
'Can none remember?' Yes, I'm sure—all must,
When gracious Charlotte, prime of all her sex,
The Queen of rare accomplishment arriv'd
How ev'ry bell divulg'd it thro' the isle,
And ev'ry steeple nodded high applause,
These in most climes, but most in British land
Tell to the travelling winds their monarch's birth.
Oft as the annual blessed day returns
For thee, O George! superior they aspire
And bid the nation triumph at thy name.
Ev'n grief lifts up her melancholy head,
Wipes from her face the slow descending tear,
And for a day grows convert unto mirth.

"Go! view the rural region, where the blush
Of innocence is seen; where health imprints
Her kisses on the cheek. Soon as the peal,
By rusticks rung, each virgin's ear salutes,
How blithe her eye! Now sprightly is her mien!
And ev'ry stripling gambols with delight.
Ev'n infants, hanging at their mother's breast,
Quit the sweet nutriment, their pleasure smile
Ineffable, clench hard their little hands,
And seem convuls'd with agonies of joy.
Echo, coy nymph, who loves to dwell unseen,
Unrival'd mistress of uncounted sounds,
Dear memory's sister-twin her voice exalts,
Mellifluous, and ever fond to learn,
Repeats distinct the bold harmonious tones.

"Nor you, ye social spirits! let me pass
Un-notic'd, who around the festive board,
With hand-bells charm the minutes. Tho' ye shine
In miniature, not less ye merit praise.
Indulge your honest joy. By turns regale
Your cheerful hearts with nectar from the vine,
But let sobriety present the glass.
Yours is the tie of friendship; yours the bond
Till death indissoluble. Long in mirth
May ye survive, and bid old care good night!
And if the Muse can prophesy with truth
Your names shall flourish longer than the verse
Of him who aims to register your praise.
Far better thus to close the mirthful eve
If scandal be away, and mad excess
That drowns the struggling soul. Far better thus
Than at one fatal cast to sink your fame
And substance to perdition, or to tire
Your constitution in the harlot's arms.

"Now rise accordant. Pull the pendant ropes,
Bid ev'ry bell strike true. The noble touch
Rouses the lethargy, that clogs my mind,
And prompts me on to action, swell my heart
And dance without control! for sweeter far
These lofty sounds, than those dead, languid airs,
That tremble on an instrument of wire;
As far superior as th' expressive notes
Of Blard and Lowe are to the Eunuch's trills.
Britons arise—resume the reins of taste,
And let the natives of your isle receive
Your amplest tribute of deserv'd applause;
For whilst 'tis yours to boast an Arne or Boyce,
No skill is wanting from a foreign land."

AN ODE

To be sung at the Annual Feast of the College Youths.

(Tune, "The Early Horn.")

Recitative.

"The annual day, once more with joy returns,
And pleasure brightens in each sparkling eye
To usher in the feast;
The jocund feast, where smiling plenty fills her copious horn,
And pours her bounteous gifts with lavish hand.
The god of wine, his welcome visit pays,
And brings the nectar of empurpl'd grapes.
The sons of humour smile immense applause.
Each object to the mirthful scene invites;
But most this room, where ravishingly sweet,
Harmonious hand-bells lull the ear,
And rivet each attentive College Youth,
Each lively stroke a different change diffuses round,
And gives new spirits to the festive board."

Air.

"Ye Youths so gay!
To hail this day,
Your chearful music bring.
No sound excels
The fine toned bells,
When merrily they ring.
The list'ning crowd around,
Their joy reveal,
To hear the peal,
All, all applaud the enliv'ning sound."

Hawker's "Ringers of Lancell's Tower" may well come in now to bridge the period of that lengthy reign.

They rang at the accession of George III., and they all lived to ring again on the fiftieth anniversary of his reign.

"They meet once more! that ancient band,
With furrow'd cheek and failing hand,
One peal to-day they fain would ring,
The jubilee of England's King!

"They meet once more! but where are now
The sinewy arm, the laughing brow,
The strength that hailed, in happier times,
King George the Third, with lusty chimes?

"Yet proudly gaze on that lone tower!
No goodlier sight hath hall or bower,—
Meekly they strive—and closing day
Gilds with soft light their locks of gray!

"Hark! proudly hark! with that true tone
They welcomed him to land and throne;
So e'er they die they fain would ring
The jubilee of England's King!

"Hearts of Old Cornwall, fare ye well!
Fast fade such scenes from field and dell!
How wilt thou lack, my own dear land,
Those trusty arms, that faithful band!"

Some of these old men lived to ring at the accession of George IV., and one at that of William IV.

To Charles Lamb we owe the following sweet characteristic lines:—

"The cheerful Sabbath bells, wherever heard,
Strike pleasant on the sense, most like the voice
Of one, who from the far-off hills proclaims
Tidings of good to Zion: chiefly when

Their piercing tones fall sudden on the ear
Of the contemplant, solitary man,
Whom thoughts abstruse or high have chanced to lure
Forth from the walks of men, revolving oft
And oft again, hard matter, which eludes
And baffles his pursuit—thought—sick and tired
Of controversy, where no end appears,
No clue to his research, the lonely man
Half wishes for society again.
Him, thus engaged, the Sabbath bells salute.
Sudden! his heart awakes, his ears drink in
The cheering music; his relenting soul
Yearns after all the joys of social life,
And softens with the love of human kind."

A contemporary of Lamb's was William Lisle Bowles. His "Sonnet to Oxford" and "Sonnet at Ostend" drew forth an unamiable comment from Byron, in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.* Let the reader judge. Here is the latter sonnet.

"How sweet the tuneful bells' responsive peal!
As when, at opening morn, the fragrant breeze
Breathes on the trembling sense of wan disease,
So piercing to my heart their force I feel!
And hark! with lessening cadence now they fall,
And now, along the white and level tide
They fling their melancholy music wide;
Bidding me many a tender thought recall
Of summer days; and those delightful years
When by my native streams, in life's fair prime,
The mournful magic of their mingling chime
First wak'd my wondering childhood into tears,
But seeming now, when all those days are o'er,
The sounds of joy once heard, and heard no more."

Byron calls him "the maudlin prince of mournful sonneteers," adding—

"And art thou not their Prince, harmonious Bowles!
Thou first, great oracle of tender souls?
Whether in sighing winds thou seek'st relief,
Or consolation in a yellow leaf;
Whether thy muse most lamentably tells
What merry sounds proceed from Oxford bells,
Or, still in bells delighting, finds a friend,
In every chime that jingles from Ostend?
Ah! how much juster were thy muse's hap,
If to thy bells thou would'st but add a cap."

Blood is thicker than water, and most of us know how closely our transatlantic brethren cleave to all that tells of their ancestors' island home. I make no apology for once more presenting the stanzas of Archdeacon Cleveland Coxe.

"The Bells and Chimes of Motherland,
Of England green and old.
That out from grey and ivied tower
A thousand years have tolled.
How heavenly sweet their music is
As breaks the hallowed day,
And calleth with a Seraph's voice
A nation up to pray!
Those bells that tell a thousand tales,
Sweet tales of olden time!
And ring a thousand memories
At Vesper and at Prime;
At Bridal and at Burial,
For Cottager and King,—
Those Bells and glorious Christian Chimes,
How blessedly they ring.

"Those Bells and Chimes of Motherland,
Upon a Christmas Morn,
Out breaking, as the Angels did,
For a Redeemer born:

How merrily they call afar
  To cot and baron's hall,
With holly deck'd and mistletoe
  To keep the festival!
The Bells of England, how they peal
  From tower and Gothic pile,
Where hymn and swelling anthem fill
  The dim Cathedral aisle;
Where windows bathe the holy light
  On priestly head that falls,
And stain the florid tracery,
  And banner-dighted walls!

"And then those Easter Bells, in spring,
  Those glorious Easter Chimes,
How loyally they hail thee round,
  Old Queen of holy times!
From hill to hill, like sentinels,
  Responsively they cry,
And sing the rising of the Lord
  From vale to mountain high.
I love ye, Chimes of Motherland,
  With all this soul of mine,
And bless the Lord that I am sprung
  Of good old English line.
And, like a son, I sing the lay
  That England's glory tells;
For she is lovely to the Lord
  For you, ye Christian Bells!"

Whence I obtained the following verses I cannot now say. They are copied in my MS. A, and are attributed to the Rev. William Knight, well known for his interest in ringing. He was thirty-two years incumbent of St. James's, Hull, and died in 1862—

"One Tuesday night, not long ago,
My mind to disencumber,
I took a solitary walk
Upon the banks of Humber.

"While musing there of by-gone days,
Which thought delights to cherish,
Of early friends, whose once lov'd forms,
From memory ne'er can perish.

"At once I paus'd, dismiss'd my thoughts
And put them to the wing;
As well I might, when suddenly
The Bells began to ring.

"The sound was sweet, the music full,
The notes distinct and clear;
A gentle breeze convey'd the tone,
And brought them to my ear.

"I linger'd on the water's brink,
And heard the careful rise;
'That's good,' thought I, 'and merits praise
And censure it defies.'

"The Bells they paused a little while,
And then they made a start
With beat so true, as prov'd them rung
By men who knew the art.

"The dulcet changes soon struck off,
In regular succession,
Like soldiers train'd, or lodges taught,
To move in the procession.

"The peal was 'Grandsire Tripples' called,
So termed by all our Ringers,
For they have names for every peal,
As tunes have name for singers.

"It sounded well, and promised fair
To reach its destined round;
'Twas like a vessel gliding soft,
And to a haven bound.

"When lo! a misadventure came,
I cried, 'What's now the matter?'
For all at once the music ceased,
And all was jar and clatter.

"The Bells were jumbled in the peal,
And no one knew its place;
The dogs came falling on the fox,
And finished up the chase.

"And now a silence interven'd
And all was still and quiet;
'Dear me,' thought I, 'how sweet the calm
That supercedes a riot.'

"But since I know those worthy men
Who labour in the steeple,
I'll e'en go in and ask of them,
Why thus annoy the people?

"The resolution form'd—I went,
A private key befriending;
And as I mounted up the stairs
Kept bending—bending—bending.

"At length I reach'd the door I sought,
And lifting up the latch,
I found the youths assembled there,
A neat and goodly batch.

"'How's this, my lads?' I soon exclaimed,
'Why—don't you know your peal?
Ben T—k—h taught you how to ring,
And this you know and feel.'

"'The first that spoke I long had known,
His name was William P——;
His words were few, he merely said,
'I'm sure it is not me.'

"'Nor me,' said Joseph H——, 'I'm sure
My Bell ne'er left its place;
When I was clearly in the hunt,
How could it be the case?'

"Said Thomas S——, 'I made my thirds,
And down again to lead;
In one I met the treble bell,
So I'm from censure freed.'

"The next to speak was Thomas N——,
And he express'd no doubt,
That some near neighbour—not himself,
Had put the 'Grandsire' out.

"'It was not me,' said Edward A——;
'I met the bell in two,
So I was dodging four and five,
What ought I else to do?"

"'Come, come,' said Charley P——; 'be still,
We some of us were wrong;
The fault, however, let me say,
Does not to me belong.'

"James A—— was equally convinced
That he was in the right;
He always counted up and down,
And kept the ropes in sight.

"The last to speak was Joseph B——,
Upon the platform mounted;
The Tenor Bell, of all the peal,
Most worthy being accounted,—

"To clear himself he neatly said,
'Of order I'm a lover;
I never wander up and down,
But always wait to cover.'

"'Well, this is passing strange!' I thought;
'A singular affair!'
The men were all so confident,
It made me stand and stare.

"At length a lucky thought occurr'd,
Which showed the matter clear,
And prov'd a fact which should be known
By Ringers far and near.

"Now, gentle reader, don't be stunn'd
While I this fact unfold,
Altho' it be the strangest thing
That poet ever told.

"As sure as mourner ever wept,
Or singer sang a song,
Altho' the ringers all were right,
The Bells themselves were wrong.

"There every voice at once proclaimed,
When once they saw the matter,
'Tis plain enough where lies the blame—
Of all this noise and clatter.

"'Twas not with us who pull'd the ropes,
And pulled them so true;
The culprits are above our heads,
As sure as blue is blue.

"'The rascals are on mischief bent,
They've joined in firm alliance,
To play the master when they please,
And set us at defiance.'

"And now from henceforth be it known,
When e'er a peal turns lame,
The *Ringers* never are in *fault*,
The *Bells* are all to *blame*."

Lastly, I am allowed to present some sweet and touching lines addressed to the venerable author of the completed counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, on the appearance of the first of them. The author was the Rev. W. L. Nichols.

"'Tis Christmas Eve, sing *ding*, *dong*, *bell*,
The western gale from Quantock fell
Howls round the Woodland home;
The hearth is bright, with holly dight,
And on a lettern, goodly sight—
There lies a pictured tome.
The lone hermit likes it well,
And sings its praise with *ding*, *dong*, *bell*.

"From Holford Tower the west wind brings
The fitful music on its wings,
Of Christmas chimes that merrily
Ring out their carols—one, two, three;
The hermit turns the page, and 'Well,'
Quoth he, 'comes in that *ding*, *dong*, *bell*.'

"Now whirl-blasts wild and driving rain,
Capricious, against the window pane,
From eastward rush, and bear along
The mellow chimes of Dodington;
But heard in snatches, faint and low
Their mournful voices come and go;—
'Ah, well-a-day,' the hermit cries,
'Of vanished years what visions rise
Commingled with those notes'—that knell
Rings out, methinks, their *ding*, *dong*, *bell*.

"'Now to my tome I'll turn,' quoth he;
'One fault alone methinks I see;'—
Out of his brain things new and old,
Fruit of long travail, brave and bold,
Mine antient friend hath brought; but he
Hath not prefixed his effigy!
For if his readers gazed intent
On each familiar lineament,
They'd cry, ''Tis he! let's greet him well
With cheerful peals of *ding, dong, bell.*"

"From youth to age, we two together,
In winter and in summer weather,
Have both grown old, and now we stand
Expectant, on the border land,
Till Time's commissioned voice shall say,
To one or other, 'Come away.'
Alas! for days of 'Auld lang syne,'
'Twere wrong as bootless to repine,
Since first I heard from Bitton tower,
Its tuneful chimes, with voice of power
(How many years I may not tell),
Ring out their merry *ding, dong, bell.*

"Again those Christmas bells! Oh list,
As momently 'the wild winds whist,'
Mid howling storm, and groaning trees,
Alternate, borne upon the breeze,
From either tower a voice I hear,
The coming or the dying year.
Soon lost shall be to me and you
In ages past old seventy-two;
May heaven vouchsafe to you and me
A better friend in seventy-three;
And as time speeds, yet once again
To listen to the old refrain
(The new year's birth, the old year's knell,)
With blessings fraught, of *ding, dong, bell.*"

CHAPTER XX

USAGES—LAW—CONCLUSION

THE *Lex non scripta*, the Common Law of England, is based so largely upon Custom and Usage that it may be well expected to include church bells among that "infinite number of minuter particulars" which, in the words of Blackstone,* "diffuse themselves as extensively as the ordinary distribution of common justice requires."

There is also a *Jus Commune Ecclesiasticum*, dealing only with Church matters, in which Custom is again an important element. As Custom generates Precedent, so Precedent, appearing in judicial records, brings about a *Lex scripta.* Beyond these there is the Canon Law, consisting of canons either originating in our own National and Provincial Synods, or adopted by them from foreign sources.

Thus, briefly and imperfectly attempting to indicate the foundations of the law which, though little recognized, is latently powerful in the Soller and the Belfry, and without attempting anything more than a very general application of it, we may say that anything like uniformity of usage does not and cannot exist, and that local peculiarities, differing in each several locality as the years pass away, must be expected to appear. Unknown to the Church of the Apostles and of

* *Commentaries*, i., Introduction, iii.

the Apostolic Fathers, traceable only with difficulty and uncertainty in the centuries which have given us our General Councils, bells are, nevertheless, not unscriptural in their essence, or the outcome of mere individual fancy.

When churches and their towers began to multiply in England in the Saxon Period, they were mainly the result of activity of guilds and corporations in towns, and the goodwill of manorial lords in the rural districts. The bell (or bells, if more than one) fell in a measure under the control at first of those to whose benevolence they owed their existence, and afterwards of their successors. Meetings of brethren of the guild, or of the burgesses, in the towns; and in the country manorial courts, occasionally hundred motes and the like, were often announced from the tower or the bell-cot, though some guilds, as at Lincoln, had bells of their own. Nor are there wanting indications that the ordinary meals in the manor house were notified in the same way.

Conflicting requirements arose, of which a most instructive instance may be taken from difficulties in the parish of Wymondham, Norfolk, given by Mr. Harrod.*

In the parish chest is a copy of an undated commission which must have been issued about 1410, which—

"recites that the prior had alleged that his predecessors and himself had from time to time immemorial possessed the nave of the priory church, and that the parishioners had been always called to church by the sound of the priory bells, and never had bells of their own, so that the prior and convent were not disturbed in their services, such being usually the case in divers other abbeys and priories; but that one William Grout and others of the parishioners broke into a certain tower of the priory church and suspended three bells there, to the disturbance of the prior in divine worship, and also broke down

* *Archæologia*, xliii. 264.

many strong walls of the priory and ejected the prior from his parlour, and prevented his entering it for three days," etc.

This commission was addressed to Norfolk magnates of some standing, Sir Thomas Morley, Sir Simon Felbrigge, Sir Ralph Shelton, Edmund Oldhall, and John Winter, and the Sheriff of Norfolk. In the Coram Rege Rolls of Trinity Term, 12 Henry IV., is the return made by Sir Ralph Shelton and other commissioners, finding that the parishioners had been from time immemorial called to church by the sound of the priory bells, but that on the Thursday before St. Faith,* in the eleventh year of the King, certain of the parishioners entered the church, and broke into a tower standing upon the porch of the church, and suspended three bells there, to the disturbance of the prior and convent.

"In the octaves of Trinity following, the defendant appeared and pleaded not guilty. Hereupon without delay the King assigned to Archbishop Arundel, by letters patent, the duty of inquiring into and determining the dispute. The Archbishop's decision seems a wise compromise between the conflicting authorities. He granted to the parishioners the power to convert a tower at the west end of their church, on the north part of the same, into a belfry for their said church, and to place, find, keep, and have sufficient bells in the same, ringing them at their pleasure, but closing all apertures within the church except holes for the ropes, so as not to disturb the monks occupying the priory. This was dated at Horncastle on the 17th June, 1411. In the following year the case was called in the Exchequer Court, where before John Cockayn, Chief Baron, and William Cothristoke, came Thomas Boteler and the other defendants, but, no one appearing on the part of the King, the jury say that they are not guilty, and so the defendants and their bail are without a day," etc.

And so ended the bell dispute at Wymondham.

* October 6

Another kind of remedy was found at Bungay at the same period. Here the nuns allowed the parish of St. Mary's to build a tower on their ground, paying an annual rent, which is still paid by the town to the Duke of Norfolk.

In Chapter VII. I have mentioned that most important secular use—the Curfew, called *Ignitegium*, introduced by William the Conqueror in 1068. Its legal sanction came to an end shortly after the death of William Rufus, but the custom remains in many places to the present day. The hour is sometimes seven, sometimes eight, sometimes nine, sometimes eight in the summer and nine in the winter, and very often, after the Curfew proper is ended, the day of the month is tolled.

Ringing on public occasions is a very wide subject, ranging from such honoured anniversaries as an Accession or a King's Birthday to a horse-race or even a pigeon-shooting match.

At Chesterfield a custom of ringing at the races had arisen, probably during the Georgian period, but was successfully resisted by the vicar (afterwards Archdeacon Hill), in 1830. A full report is given in the *History of Chesterfield* (1839). The mayor had put himself at the head of the race-adoring party, but was open-minded enough to be convinced by arguments adduced by a lawyer at the meeting which had been convened for the continuance of the ringing; and better counsels prevailed against bets. The final decision as to the propriety of the occasion lies with the incumbent, subject to any complaint in an ecclesiastical court, should he overstep his authority.

A number of important cases have been collected by Ellacombe, in his *Devonshire* Supplement, and they all tend towards this conclusion. In usages purely religious there have been great variations. There was a time when the *sanctus bell* was entirely unknown, and there are many

parishes where it has never been heard, so that the expression "Catholic usage" is not applicable to it. Death uses, again, must have changed much from time to time, and attempts to revive such trental ordinances as those which prevailed at Bury St. Edmund's in the fifteenth century would meet with the same disapprobation which repressed a five-o'clock morning bell at Hammersmith in the days of George I. An invalid parishioner named Martin, living near the church, found this custom an intolerable nuisance, and on his promising to furnish the church with a cupola, to contain a new clock and bell, the parochial authorities consented to stop this early call to the neighbourhood. A new churchwarden, one Nutkin, resumed it. Thereupon Martin brought an action against him, and obtained an injunction in Chancery from the Earl of Macclesfield. This was in 1724.

With regard to the consecration of church bells, there has been much controversy as to their baptism. As usual, it is mainly verbal. Words, which were designed to be the servants of mankind, have in a multitude of instances become their masters. Certainly, in the very earliest mention which remains as to consecration, that of Alcuin, tutor of Charlemagne, towards the end of the eighth century, the word "baptism" is conspicuous by its absence. His words are "neque novum videri debet Campanas benedicere et ungere, eisque nomen imponere."

Another instance of the absence of any mention of affusion is in the record of the dedication of the "Jesus" bell given by Dean Heywood to Lichfield Cathedral in 1477.

"*Sanctificacio sive benediccio magne campane de Iesu.*

"Memorandum quod xiiij° die mensis Novembris videlicet in crastino Bricij episcopi Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC°. lxx° vij^mo^

Reverendus in Christi pater et dominus Dominus Robertus Archadēn * episcopus, et suffraganeus domini Johannis † divina gracia Covent̄ et Lich. episcopi. consecravit et sanctificavit maximam campanam vocatam in vulgari Ihc̄ belle, in campanili ex parte australi ecclesie cathedralis Lich̄ habitam ex industria et donacione Magistri Thome Heywod, decani ecclesie cathedralis predicte, ad honorem Dei et nominis Iesu, ac omnium sanctorum et ecclesie predicte decorem, presentibus ad tunc in dicta solemnitate in campanili predicto dicto decano et Magistro Rogero Walle Canonico residenciario cum pluribus vicarijs et choristis dicentibus psalmos et decantantibus antiphonas et latanias (*sic*) prout ipsum servicium satis devotum requirebat, una cum dicto Reverendo patre consecratore dicente consecraciones obsecraciones et oraciones decantantes satis et valde devotas cum signis et crucibus et uncionibus quas pluribus vicibus super eandem campanam Iesu, sic descriptam in quinque partibus campane et unctam sacra unccione delibatam. ¶ Et post hic cum a campanili usque in ecclesiam pervenerint Dominus episcopus incepit *Te Deum laudamus*. Et totus chorus illuc veniens et obvians procedebat a fine ecclesie occidentali, bini, bini, cantando et solenniter complendo, dicto episcopo subsequente in pontificalibus usque ad altare Jesu in parte boriali situatum ex fundacione dicti decani ibidem celebravit et decantavit solenniter missam, cum melioribus cantatoribus ecclesie. Et omnibus completis dictus dominus episcopus consecrator et dicti cantatores et coadjutores seu coadjuvantes in domo dicti decani prandiderunt leti. In nomine Jesu salvatoris nostri. Datum in tempore Regis Edwardi iiij^{ti}. Anno Septimo decimo." ‡

Assuredly this bell was a *signum*. Cast in London, and costing £100, it must have been a grand specimen for that time of day. Would that we could name the founder! The great Henry Jordan, whose bells are still objects of admiration to eye and ear, had been gathered to his fathers some

* Achonry. † John Hales.

‡ From a paper by the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., in *Archæologia*, LII., part 2, p. 617.

seven years, his will having been enrolled at Guildhall in 1470. "William Chamberleyn Ffounder," probably Jordan's foreman, was one of his executors. He was found by Stahlschmidt to have been still living, and a member of the Court of the Founders' Company, in 1497–8, the year in which their records begin. There are, however, no bells existing which can be traced to him. Another name belonging to the time is that of Thomas Harrys, who is found in the *Mundum* Books of King's College, Cambridge,* for the years 1478–9. Mr. Cocks suggests as an alternative that he may have intervened between Jordan and Chamberleyn, or that he and Chamberleyn may have been rivals. Bells traced to him are found at Hampton Court; Limpsfield, Surrey; Nettleden, Bucks; and Blatherwycke and Potterspury, Northamptonshire. At work thus in the Midlands, there is some likelihood that this noble "Jesu" bell, Dean Heywood's gift to his cathedral, may have been his handiwork.†

Possibly this naming was accompanied by washing with holy water, but it is not specified. The probability is enhanced by the oft-quoted capitulary of Charlemagne, forbidding what Durandus calls an ancient custom: "Etsi capitularia Caroli Magni, anno 789, jubeant ut Clocæ non baptizentur, antiquus tamen usus Ecclesiæ obtinuit, ut signorum seu Campanarum benedictio Baptismi indigetur." The nearness in time of the utterances of Alcuin and Charlemagne is to be observed. The "antiquus usus," of course, was not to be taken in the letter: it was only a setting apart from ordinary purposes. But "the letter killeth," as in apostolic days, and at the Reformation the letter was found to have killed itself. All was swept away, to be revived in

* *History of the Bells of King's College, Cambridge*, p. 23.

† See Cocks's *Church Bells of Bucks*, p. 41.

a new and exceedingly mundane form, thoroughly characteristic of the Georgian era. My old friend Gatty describes it as in his parish of Ecclesfield—*

"Two wagons, decorated with boughs and evergreens, and drawn by teams of grey horses bedizened with ribbons, set out for the merry peal, and returned in the fine afternoon with their welcome load. The shouts of the multitude greet their arrival, and at the ancient public-house on the village green the procession comes to a stand. Then commence the profane christenings. In one of the bells, which has been inverted for the purpose, mine host mixes a motley compound of beer, rum, &c., which is liberally dispensed to the good-humoured bystanders. The bell founder's representative is busy on the occasion, and in the treble has a more delicate mixture, from which he offers a libation to the more distinguished persons of the company."

Comparing this with the *antiquus usus*, we should shrink from saying in the words of the Eton Grammar, *Utrum horum mavis accipe.* Happily, a third course was found, and a beautiful simple Service of Dedication with appropriate prayers and hymns was arranged, and being sanctioned forty years ago by the Bishops of Oxford and Salisbury, has now obtained very general acceptance. The hymn, "Lift it gently to the steeple," is by John Mason Neale, and is worthy of the genius of that gifted poet.

We will now speak of the bells as markers of time. Long before the clock had found its way to the tower they had been turned to this most useful purpose, often united with the observance of the canonical hours. By this usage a monastery became time-marker to the neighbourhood, and Peck, in his *Desiderata Curiosa*,† notes the use at Oseney:

"Thus at Ousney they had six bells, called *Douce, Clement, Austin, Hautecler, Gabriel*, and *John*. And in an old MS. relating

* *The Bell*, p. 22. † VI. 33.

to the religious offices proclaimed in that abbey it is said (in Hearne's *Discourses*, p. 305), 'Finito Agnus Dei enollentur *Douce*, *Clement*, et *Austin*; et post missam, per non magnum spatium, pulsentur. Et notandum quod semper post magnam missam, pulsetur *Hautecter*; ad completorium, *Gabriel* vel *John*."

Here there is a plain distinction drawn between the verbs *enollare* and *pulsare*, the former denoting the tolling by "clocking," and the latter a blow from outside the bell—at least, so it seems so me.

Another note of time on a Sunday remains in many parishes by means of two bells chimed at 8 a.m. and 2 p.m. This is said by some to be the old Catechising Bell, of which I have failed to find any notice, but when we bear in mind the great pains taken in towns and larger villages to instruct the young, the help given sometimes by carvings, sometimes by windows, in teaching by eye as well as by ear, the theory is probable enough. Most of our chroniclers of the bells of different counties have been very careful to preserve the record of all ancient usages remaining in the different parishes, and I much regret that I failed in this respect. The subject is very wide, and I would refer my readers for a convenient conspectus to chapters ix., x., and xi. of Mr. Tyack's *Book about Bells*, entitled "The Church-Going Bell," "Bells at Christian Festivals," and "The Epochs marked by Bells."

The last ringing society which I mentioned was "The Cumberland Youths." These companies sprung up in a multitude of places after the Restoration. One must perforce claim a brief notice, "The Cambridge Youths," who can trace themselves back to the end of the seventeenth century, and were in a very flourishing condition in 1800. Members of the University frequently joined this society, as in 1726

Robert Hesketh, of Christ's College, and William Windle, of Caius. Dr. Glyn says that he practised the art in his day, and the august name of Sir Isaac Newton is reported to have adorned the list.* Such societies had be held together by rules, nor was there wanting poetic skill to turn these into verse, which, varying in detail, and alas! in grammar, from time to time, and from place to place, may yet be read in many a tower, side by side with those steeple boards which display the names of ringers who have well and truly brought through their 5040 of Bob Major, or a higher number of some Triple Bob Method, or even of Caters, Bob Royal, Cinques, and Bob Maximus.

That which claims the greatest veneration on account of antiquity is at Scotter, a village to the north of Gainsborough, and not far from the Trent. The composer begins with a rhyme, but though he relapses into "plain homespun yeoman's prose," as thus—

"You ringers all
Who heare doe fall
And doe cast over
a bell doe for feit
to the Clarke theirfore
A Groute I doe yow
tell & if yow
thinck it be to
little & beare
A valiant minde
ye more yow give
vnto him than
yow prove to him
more kinde,"

it will not require a very keen critic to trace the poetic

* J. J. Smith, *Cambridge Portfolio*, I. 206.

element to the termination. This is painted in red and black letters on the south wall of the tower, over the belfry door. *

A later composition I copied in 1852 from the belfry of Shilling Okeford, otherwise Shillingstone, Dorset. It is a fine specimen of what may be effected by neglect of punctuation and orthography. "Praise the Lord with Lowd Symbols, if you curse or sware during the time of ringing you shall pay threepence." Below this are the lines—

"There is no musick play'd or sung
Is like Good Bells if well Rung
Put off you hat coat & spurs
And see you make no brawls or iares
Or if you chance to curse or sware
Be sure you shall pay sixpence here
Or if you chance to break a stay
Eighteenpence you shall pay
Or if you ring with gurse or belt
We will have sixpence or your pelt. 1767."

Here are several points for the higher critic. The penalty for the mere casualty (as it is beautifully expressed) of a curse is in verse double what it is in prose. It looks as if the prose was by a later hand. In the last couplet the memory of the versifier has failed him, for the ordinary reading in other towers is—

"Or if you ring with belt or gurse
We will have sixpence or your purse."

With this unseemly doggerel may be contrasted some grave and thoughful lines which I lighted upon a year or two afterwards at Much Hadham, Herts—

* North's *Church Bells of Lincoln*, p. 632.

"Reade and marke well these lines I Pray
Keep full in mind ye Judgment Day
Of all your sin Confession make,
God's pardon beg, for Christ his sake.
Now is the time while breath we have.
There's no Repentance in the Grave.
Then tho' our Passing-bell shall ring
Praises to God we still may sing.
Amen & Amen.
WILL: MATTHEWS, Church Clerke,
THOM: HAWKINS, Sexton,
BENJ: SOME, Writer, 1715."

To Mr. Dunkin, in his *Church Bells of Cornwall*, we are indebted for several sets of these belfry regulations. Two of them, from Gulval * and Fowey,† are worth transcribing, especially as the former has disappeared. It ran—

"Good Sirs! our meaning is not small,
That God to Praise assemblies call;
And warn the sluggard, when at home
That he may with devotion come
Unto the church and joyn in prayer;
Of Absolution take his share.
Who hears the bells, appears betime,
And in his seat against we chime.
Therefore I'd have you not to vapour,
Nor blame ye lads that use the clapper,
By which are scar'd the fiends of hell,
And all by virtue of a Bell."

The Fowey rules remain, painted on a board attached to the wall of the ringing-floor. Above the lines is a section of the tower, showing the ringers, bells, and ropes—

* Page 15. † Page 38.

"Hark how the Chirping Treble Sings most Clear,
And Covering Tom Com's rowling in the Rear,
We Ring the Quick to Church, the dead to Grave,
Good is our Use, such Usage let us have,
Now up on end at Stay, Come let us see
What Laws are best, to keep Sobriety.
To Swear, or Curse, or in a Choleric Mood
To Strike or Quarrel, tho' he draw no Blood,
To wear a Hat, or Spur, to or'e turn a Bell
Or by unskiffull handling marrs a Peal
Such shall pay sixpence for each single Crime,
T'will make him Cautious gainst another Time.
What Forfeitures are due as here it is Exprest
Here is a Box to take the same when y^u^ have transgres'd
And we the whole Society of Ringers do agree,
To use the same in Love and Unity."

With these later steeple pieces, to which I regret to be unable to put dates, I close this imperfect chronicle of the Bells of England. Had I not begun my collection nearly sixty years ago I might never have taken up the subject at all; but the boyish curiosity which I felt when first noticing the decorated lettering and trade-marks of the fifteenth century took too firm a hold to be dislodged by mathematical, scholastic, or even theological labours. Nor can I regret the time and labour bestowed on what might seem at first to be but an unspiritual subject, concerned chiefly with the outer senses and effects produced on them.

"Triflers," said Dr. Johnson, in dedicating to the Earl of Rochford a mere introduction to the Game of Draughts, "may find or make anything a trifle, but since it is the great characteristic of a wise man to see events in their causes, to obviate consequences, and ascertain contingencies, your lordship will think nothing a trifle by which the mind is inured to caution, foresight, and circumspection."

What is true of draughts, chess, and a multitude of other games is true of change-ringing, which unites in itself important mental faculties. So, too, those who have never studied a subject may regard the time bestowed upon it as entirely out of proportion to its importance. It must be remembered that what seem mere externals have a power of penetrating the sensual faculties. As in Virgil's cosmogony, so there is nutritive power to the inward man through a subtle "spiritus intus."

From a few instances quoted in these pages it may be in some small degree imagined what great effects have been brought about by the voices of our bells. May the day be far distant when neglect shall reign in our ancient towers!

"The form of religion," said the great Bishop Butler, in his "Charge to the Clergy of Durham," in 1751, "may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved amongst mankind without the form. And this form frequently occurring in some instance or other of it, will be a frequent admonition to bad men to repent, and to good men to grow better; and also be the means of their doing so."

The counties at present uncompleted will be sure, in their turn, to add largely to our subject, and very possibly may correct some of our conclusions. The story of Hampshire and Berkshire remains to be told, and Wiltshire, the first begun, is not yet done. These will give a clean sweep to the south of England. There must be somewhere the collections made for Warwickshire and Oxfordshire by our lamented friends, the Rev. H. T. Tilley and the Rev. T. Archer Turner. Essex is soon to be expected, as news comes that our fellow-labourer, Mr. H. B. Walters, F.S.A., has gathered up the inscriptions of that important county. This will clear the east coast,

with the adjoining inland counties, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and the Peterborough three. Much good work has been done for Derbyshire, but much remains to be done. The same is true of Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Nottinghamshire. Yorkshire is a gigantic task, like Middlesex, but the Riding and Holderness are to hand. We know something of Cumberland and Westmoreland, but practically nothing of Northumberland and Durham, Cheshire, Herefordshire, and Monmouthshire. Lancashire, though eminently a county of recasts, has given us the earliest dated bell, nor will this be its latest offering. The names of Ellacombe, North, Cocks, Stahlschmidt, Dunkin, Tyssen, Lukis, L'Estrange, Lynam, Jewitt, Owen, Poppleton, Park, and Whitehead will ever live in their published works. Equal gratitude we owe to innumerable workers who have climbed towers, taken rubbings, pored over faded manuscripts, gathered up traditions, and in various ways made the author's labours possible.

With this tardy acknowledgment of benefits received for many years, as well as with thankfulness to the Giver of all good things for strength sustained and renewed, I write the final words—"The Bells of England."

INDEX

Aberdeen, 129
Acton Scott, 121
Æs, 10
Æschylus, 17
Alban's, St., 46, 67–69
Albourne, 159
Alcuin, 38
Aldbourne, 123, 272
Aldgate, St. Botolph, 140, 143
Aldworth, 116
Allen, 168
Althorpe, 129
Alwoldus, 44, 139
Amherst of Hackney, Lord, 133, 182, 260
Amiens, John of, 139
Angelus bell, 95
Anstey, 190
Antony, St., 127, 128
Apollonia, St., 126
Appleby, 278
Appowell, 181, 202
Arch, pointed, antiquity of, 30
Arnold, Edward, 222
Arreton, 158
Ash Priors, 151
Ashby, Cold, 176
Ashfield, Great, 128
Ashton-under-Lyne, 218
Aslac, Aslacton, 130
Assington, 104
Aston Rowant, 181
Athelington, 193
Athelstan's laws, 29
Atkyns, Richard, 149, 202
Aubray, 126
Aylsham, 209

Babingley, 189
Backwell, 218
Bacon, Lord, 272
Badgeworth, 210
Bagley, 220
Baker, 142, 203
Bale, 116
Barbara, St., 104, 126, 169
Barbor, John, 150, 182
Baret, 134
Barker, William, 168, 195
Barking, Suffolk, 119
Barkway, 168
Barley, 170
Barnardiston, 108
Barre Garreagh, 21
Barry, St., 24
Bartlett, 212
Baschurch, 191
Basque words, 7
Bath, 218
Bawde, 142
Baxter, 131, 161
Beauchamp, 131
Beaumaris, 222
Beccles, 203, 204, 215
Bedale, 123
Bedford, 220, 221
Bedingfield, 194
Beesby, 134

Beeston, 209
Bell, origin of word, 8
Belleyetere, William, 160
Bellingham, 204
Benedictus Campanarius, 80
Bene't-at-Hulme, St., 48
Benhall, 226
Bergholt, East, 290
Bermondsey, 200
Bernard, 130
Bett, 179
Beverley, 260
Bilbie, Bilby, 218, 219, 227
Billesdon, 123
Birdham, 159
Birinus, St., 155
Birkbeck, 137
Birmingham, 215
Birstall, 222
Blackburn, Lord, 166
Bletchley, 217
Bloxham, 155
Blythburgh, 275
Boddington, 116
Bolter, Nathaniel, 206
Bond, Anthony, 152
Boniface, St., 21
Boosh, Bush, 218
Borden, 205
Boston, 44, 177, 268–270
Bottesford, 178
Bottreau, 280
Boughton Malherbe, 205
Bous, 189
Bowler, 203, 211
Bowles, William Lisle, 305
Boxley, 223
Bozeat, 168
Bracker, Austen, 189
Bradfield, 148
Bramber, 94, 159
Brass, uses of the word, 4
Brasyer, etc., 131, 152, 161–168, 175, 195
Breaston, 122
Brend, 195, 208, 209, 213
Brereton, Lord, 246
Briant, John, 250
Bride's, St., 217
Bridgewater, 63
Bristol, 147, 206, 217
Brixton, 219
Broadwinsor, 154
Brockdish, 122
Bromeswell, 191
Bronze, composition of, 4
Broughton-in-Furness, 184
Buckingham, 181
Buckstead, 142
Bulkeley, Bishop, 287
Bullisdon, 119
Bungay, 317
Bunyan, John, 221
Burford, 109
Burham, 213
Burney, Dr., 2, 237, 270
Bury St. Edmund's, 53, 65, 66, 105, 168–174, 195, 198–200, 213, 222, 250, 271, 272
Butler, Bishop, quoted, 327
Bykenore, Thomas de, 139
Byrdan, John, 219
Byron, Lord, 305, 306

Caldecote, 155
Calverton, 223
Cambridge, 49, 61, 126, 172–178, 192, 209, 212, 214, 224, 265–267, 322
Campana, 8, 10, 37
Canons of a bell, 51
Canterbury, 45, 52, 85, 160, 247, 248
Carlisle, 108, 211
Carlton-in-Lindrick, 131
Carr, John, 206
Carter, John, 202
Cassiterides, 5
Catlin, Robert, 216
Cattistock, 268
Catwick, 94
Caversfield, 61
Chacombe, Chalcombe, 220
Chains, St. Peter's, 274

Chaldon, 51
Chapman, William, 214, 215
Charfield, 116
Charlestown, 215
Charsfield, 214
Chebsey, 183
Chelsea, 216
Cherthill, 147
Chertsey, 102, 246, 268
Chester, 274
Chesterfield, 278, 317
Chickney, 125
Chiddingley, 206
Chiffenham, 106
Chirche, Church, Chyrch, 170–174
Chladni, 9
Choke, 164
Christchurch, 107, 108
Christopher, St., 148
Cirencester, 217
Cirencester, Richard of, 278
Cista, 113, 114
Clare, 161
Clark, Dr. J. W., 49, 145, 155
Clarke, 197, 198
Claughton, 63
Claxby, 124
Clay, 221
Clifton, Sir Cliff, 246
Clocæ, 37
Clocking of bells, 48
Clog-na-fulla, 19, 21
Clog-na-Mogue, 21
Closworth, 125
Cloub, Club, 244
Cocke, Coke, 195
Cockey, 218, 219
Cockfield, 200
Coffinswell, 119
Colchester, 141, 203, 206, 226
Colkirk, 104, 125
Collumpton, 227
Cologne, 215
Colton, 184
Colyton, 203
Congleton, 25, 274
Conington, 169
Coote, 137
Copywell, 298–303
Corbet, Bishop, 292–295
Cornard, Little, 190
Cornwallis, 140
Corrie, Dr., 110
Corvehill, Sir William, 195
Coton, 122
Coventry, 137
Coxa, Archdeacon Cleveland, 306, 307
Crane, 112
Cray, St. Mary, 212
Cratfield, 203, 204
Cripplegate, St. Giles, 218, 220
Crokesden, 74
Cromhall, 116
Crosmere, 287
Crostwright, 130
Crotals, 3, 16, 273
Crotch, 266
Crowch, Robert, 190
Crowland, 33, 44
Crowle, 227
Cuerdon, William, 227
Culpeck, 226
Culverden, William, 145, 195
Cumberland, Duke of, 246
Curfew, 95, 317
Cuthberga, St., 153
Cymbals, 17, 49

Dalton, 228
Damerham, South, 213
Danby, C. J., 164–166
Danton, John, 213
Darbie, 223, 224
Darsham, 127
David, Saint, 279
Datchworth, 197
Dawe, William, 140, 147, 148, 161
Debden, Depden, 174
Dedication of bells, 37
Dekun, Thomas, 94
Deopham, 114

Dergny, M. Dieudonné, 43
Desborough, 125
Devonport, 182
Dickleburgh, 129
Didlington, 182, 260
Dier, John, 198
Dionysius Periegetes, 6
Dobson, William, 222, 250
Doncaster, 204, 227, 265
Dover, 86, 142
Dowdeswell, 116
Down, Downe, 142, 160
Downham, Lanc., 142
Downham Market, 25, 222, 223
Downman, 190
Draper, 200–202, 209, 210
Driffield, 116
Dublin, 222
Duffield, 107
Dulwich, 200
Dunholme, 228
Dunkerton, 219
Durandus, 50, 112

Eastergate, 220
Eastry, 198
Eaton Hall, 268
Eayre, 222
Ecclesfield, 321
Ecton, 220
Edelmeton, Edmonton, 139
Edinburgh, 271
Edmund, St., 128
Edward I., 105, 107
Edward III., 106
Edwardstone, 226
Egbert, St., 32
Eggesford, 219
Eldridge, Brian, 246
Eleanor of Castile, 105, 107
Eleigh, Monks, 129
Elland, 222
Elmham, South, 29, 193
Elmstone, Hardwicke, 116
Ely, 48, 74–79
Emerton, William, 221
Empingham, 190
Enfield, 214
Episwych, 109
Etheldreda, St., 127
Evans, William, 218, 254
Exeter, 47, 67, 96, 153, 219, 254
Eynesford, 223

Fakenham, 210
Farmington, 116
Faversham, 143
Felpham, 204
Feltwell, 127, 224
Fergas, 44
Fergusson, 30
Festus Avienus, 9
Finchley, 141
Fitz Lewes, 141
Flint, William, 176
Flower, Flowry, 213
Ford, 108
Ford Abbey, 167
Fordington, 143
Fordwich, 205
Forrabury, 283
Foster, Frances, 206
Founder, John, 147
Founder, William, 140, 142
Fowey, 325
Freeman, Rev. J. M., 225
Fressingfield, 100, 127, 138, 190
Frettenham, 124
Frome, 218
Fulham, 217
Fylfot, 277, 278

Gabriel bells, 115
Gainford, 140
Garboldisham, 128
Gardiner, Thomas, 226
Gasquet, Dr., 177
Genney, Sergeant, 164–166
Geoffrey Plantagenet, 46
Gerbertus Scholasticus, 59
Gestingthorpe, 168
Gildas, 279

Giles, St., 129
Gilpin, Samuel, 224
Giraldus Cambrensis, 23
Glapthorne, 177
Gloucester, 91, 116, 148, 149, 216, 259
Gnosall, 183
Godstone, 215
Godynge, 63
Googe, Barnaby, 111
Gosselin, John, 147
Grafton Regis, 105
Graham, 4
Grandison, Bishop, 96, 254
Grantham, 265
Graveley, 197
Graye, 206
Grayingham, 124
Greystoke, 119
Grimley, 182
Grindal, Archbishop, 112
Grosseteste, Bishop, 289
Guilds of Westminster, 69
Gulval, 325
Gunby, 134
Gurnell, 207

Hackness, 31
Haddenham, 224
Hadham, Much, 324
Halden, High, 205
Hales, 189
Halvergate, 121
Hammersmith, 318
Handbells, 40
Handley, Robert, 149
Hardres, Upper, 142
Hargrave, 128
Harleston, 172
Harleton, 143, 144
Harrington, 210
Harrison, James, 250
Harrys, 320
Harston, 189
Hartley, 108
Hasylwood, 157
Hatch, 204, 205, 248
Haweis, 113
Hawker, 280–283, 303
Hawstead, 100
Hedenham, 204
Henley, 156
Henry VIII., 248
Henshawe, William, 149
Hepworth, 201
Hesiod, 5
Hethcote, 278
Hewelsfield, 116
Hickham, Thomas, 71
Hieronymus Magius, 11
Hilda, St., 31, 111
Hille, Richard, 143, 144
Hoath, 160
Hodson, 212, 257
Holbeach, 265
Holcombe, 123
Holcot, 227
Holyoake, 10
Homer, 5
Hooper, Bishop, 112, 137
Horham, 244
Horsham, 275
Hull, 212, 307
Hunstanton, 286
Huntingdon, 227
Hutton-in-the-Forest, 201

Iberians, 6, 7
Ickford, 206
Igtham, 216
Ilketshall St. Margaret, 161
Illtyd, St., 278–280
Insh, bell found at, 54
Ipswich, 129, 206, 226
Isham, 124
Isleham, 130
Ives, St., 227

Jack o' th' Clock, 275
James, Dr. Montague, 65
Janaway, Thomas, 216
Jenkins, John, musician, 237
Jersey, 284

Jewitt, 133, 183
Jordan, Jurden, 143, 145, 161, 183
Just, St., 261

Katherine, St., 125
Keble, Kebyll, 145, 161
Keene, 210, 220, 257
Kelsale, 223
Kempton, 121
Kemsing, 45, 277
Kencote, 147
Kerry, 182
Kettering, 222, 223
Kilberry, 24
Kilgrimel, 287
Kincardineshire, 291
King's Cliffe, 113
Kingstone, 147, 183
Kipling, 219, 220
Kirkby Ireleth, 184
Kirkham, John de, 184, 187
Kirkoswald, 201
Kirton-in-Lindsey, 211
Knight, Knyght, 202, 216
Knight, Rev. William, lines by, 307-312
Knowlton, 284
Kyrkeby, Roger de, 140

Lamb, Charles, 304, 305
Lancell's Tower, 303, 304
Land, Lawnd, William, 200, 201
Landen, Roger, 155-157
Langton Matravers, 147
Latimer, Bishop, 110
Laurence, St., 129
Laurence, Thomas, 195
Lavenham, 206, 207
Lavers, 91, 92
Law, Mrs., 113
Lawley, 116
Lawson, 216
Lay Folks' Mass Book, 263
Layard, 15
Lees, George, 211
Leicester, 88, 90, 179, 180, 221, 222
Leigh, 116
Leman, Sir William, 214
Lenham, 205
Leonine hexameters, 102
Lester, Thomas, 214, 215, 248
Letton, 117
Lever system, 50
Leverton, 177
Lewes, 115
Leyton, 148
Lezant, 219
Lichfield, 61, 74, 183, 318
Lincoln, 46, 216, 249, 289
Liverpool, 222
Liversedge, 222
Llandegai, 222
Llanelly, 147
London founders, 82, 139-157, 212
Lorchon, 139
Loringe, Mr. William, 153
Loughborough, 143, 144, 223
Louvain, 268
Loxton, 147
Lucas, 207
Ludlow, 182
Luffenham, South, 197
Luppit, 151
Lutwich, 202
Lydgate, 100
Lyndewode, 97, 98
Lynn, 61, 62, 93, 106, 190, 208, 215, 224, 244
Lyttleton, 164

Macclesfield, 218
Madingley, 103
Maldon, 226
Malling, South, 212
Manchester, 215, 217, 259
Marden, bell found at, 18
Margaret, St., 127
Markfield, 180
Marland, Peter, 119
Marston, Butler's, 117
Marston St. Laurence, 105
Martene, 37

Martial, 11
Martin, St., 129
Martin's-in-the-Fields, 217, 271
Mary-le-Bow, St., 215
Mears, 215–217, 220, 248, 250
Mechlin, 191
Mellour, Millers, 177–179
Melton Mowbray, 112
Membury, 119
Mere, 123
Merston, Thomas, 176
Mettingham, 162
Michael, St., 112, 113
Michel, Master Henry, 183
Michell, John, 156
Mildenhall, 163, 225
Mileham, 224
Minehead, 275
Morley, 127
Mortars, 71
Mortlake, 213
Moyle, 164
Myre, John, 263

Nahash, 4
Naogeorgus, 111
Needham, 164
Neot's, St., 222, 223
Nettleton, 182
Newcombe, 179, 197, 220, 249
Newman, 224, 225
Newton, 189
Newton, Sir Isaac, 323
Nicholls, 112
Nichols, Rev. W. L., lines by, 312, 313
Ninfield, 129
Nola, 8, 10
Normandy, 43
Norris, 210
Northampton, 220
Northwold, 162
Norton, Robert, 153, 154
Norton, Stephen, 87, 102
Norwich, 47, 94, 161, 167, 195, 208, 224, 226, 244, 245, 270
Nottingham, 94, 161, 177, 186
Numburg (Nuremberg), 111

Odson, 69
Odyngton, Walter of, 56–59
Offchurch, 117
Oldfield, 249
Oliver, Dr., 38
Osborn, Thomas, 222, 245
Oseney, 321
Otham, 142
Overbury, 117
Owen, John, 195
Oxford, 123, 212, 223, 224, 256–258, 275, 292–295

Pack, Thomas, 214, 215
Paignton, 61, 62
Painswick, 217
Parr, Dr., 250, 258
Passing bell, 26
Paston, 163
Paul's, St., 258, 259
Paulinus of Nola, 8
Pausanias, 101
Pelham Stocking, 128
Penn, Henry, 227
Pennington, 219
Peterborough, 227
Petersburg, St., 215
Peyton, 130
Phelps, Richard, 213, 214, 258
Philadelphia, 215
Pigot, Sergeant, 165
Pilkington, Bishop, 111
Pittington, 127
Plantagenet, Geoffrey, 249
Pleasant, Henry, 226
Pliny, 7
Plymouth, 218
Plymptree, 154
Plot, John, 142
Plumbum candidum, 7
Polydore Vergil, 9
Poole, 222
Poole, John and George, 202

Pope, Henry, 166
Portobello, 219
Potters, 80–83, 161, 186, 187
Potterspury, 105
Purdues, 205, 206
Pynchbeck, John and Leonard, 177

Quidenham, 122
Quivil, Bishop, 62

Races, bells used as prizes, 274, 275
Racton, 220
Radbourn, 273
Raleigh, 287
Raphael bells, 116
Rashoold, 156
Raughton, William de, 140
Raveningham, 127
Reading, 155, 157, 202
Redenhall, 172, 201
Reepham, 200
Reimann, 39
Rendham, 122
Reve, Giles, 204
Reve, Roger, 174
Revel, 161
Rider, Robert, 108
Rigby, Alexander, 210
Risby, 128
Ritson, 186, 187
Robin Hood, 186, 187
Romeneye, John, 140
Romford, 287
Romney, Old, 160
Rowston, 124
Rudhall, 210, 216–218, 221
Rufford, 141
Russell, Thomas, 221
Rye, 192

Sacheverell, Dr., 214
St. David's Cathedral, 151
Salisbury, 150, 196
Saltfleetby, 122
Sandwich, 110
Saunders, John, 202
Saxon towers, 32, 33
Scalford, 190
Schep, William, 128
Schelby, John de, 46
Scotter, 323
Sellor, William, 211
Semson, Roger, 151
Sevenhampton, 116
Seynter, Beneit le, 189
Shaftesbury, 152
Shapwick, 148
Sheep bells, 20
Sheepwash, 147
Shelford, Great, 106, 209
Sherburn-in-Elmet, 40
Shillingstone, 324
Shoe Lane, 216
Shouldham, 189
Shrewsbury, 182, 218
Signum, 10, 37, 50
Silisden, Silsden, 109
Sista, 113, 114
Slaughter, Lower, 116
Sleyht, John, 177
Smith, James, 211
Smithfield, St. Bartholomew, 128
Somercotes, 134
Somersby, 134
Southwell, 221
Southwold, 275
Spelman, Sir Henry, 280
Squilla, etc., 7, 50
Stafford, Archbishop, 154
Stainbank, 216
Stamford, 210
Standish, 116
Stannum, 7
Stanstead, 199
Stanton All Saints, 125
Stedham, 220
Stedman, Fabian, 232–244, 295–297
Steeple, 47
Stephens, John, 226
Stock of a bell, 51
Stoke Ash, 169
Stoke Climsland, 219

Stoke D'Abernon, 277
Stonham, Little, 122
Stourpaine, 121
Stowmarket, 206
Stradbroke, 161
Stradishall, 201
Stratford St. Andrew, 126
Stretton, Church, 288
Stukeley, Dr., 35, 46, 265
Sturdy, 102, 143, 144
Sturminster Newton, 222
Sudbury, 124, 161, 172, 226
Suffolk, A. de, 108
Suffolk, W. de, 108
Sundon, 106
Sutton, Chart, 87
Sutton, John, 161
Sutton, King's, 223
Sutton St. James, 210
Swadling, Thomas, 181
Swineshead, 178
Symondson, 223, 273

Tadcaster, 228
Taddington, 112
Tadlow, 155
Talaton, 131
Tandridge, 215
Tarring, West, 204
Taxstede, Thomas, 195
Taylors, 223
Teigh, 106
Teilo, St., 22
Thame, 156, 181, 202
Theddlethorpe, 122
Theodorus of Samos, 101
Thetford, 201, 202, 209, 210, 226
Thomas, St., of Canterbury, 103, 105, 128
Thor's hammer, 277, 278
Thurcaston, 106
Tilley, Rev. H. T., 220
Tintagel, 281–283
Tintinnabulum, 7, 15
Tixover, 180
Toley, 168
Tonne, Tonni, 115, 195, 198–200
Tooke, Edward, 224
Topsell, Henry, 203
Totness, 218
Tough, 145
Trendull, 78
Trevor, Valentine, 204
Tunnoc, Richard, 72
Tunstall, 288
Turrets, 41
Tyssen, 115, 131, 150, 152, 156, 163

Ubbeston, 147
Udall, 232
Ufford, Philip de, 109
Ulcombe, 205
Underhill, 141

Van Castor, Canon, 191
Vanaerschodt, 268
Varvells, 203
Vernon, Admiral, 219, 291
Vincent, St., 128
Vincent (the island), 222
Voss, Gerard, 9
Vowchurch, 192

Waghevens, 192
Walafridus Strabo, 8
Walgrave, John, 142
Wallis, John, 196
Walsingham, Old, 109
Waltham, 205
Warblington, 158
Warner & Son, 259
Warwick, 55
Wath-upon-Dearne, 211
Wattisfield, 201
Watts, 197
Waverley, Annals of, 64
Week, 158
Well, 94
Wells, 209
Wells, Robert, 272
Welnetham, Little, 190
Wentnor, 288

Westminster, 204, 259; Guild of, 69
Weston, Buckhorn, 121
Weston, Market, 122
Weston, Peter de, 140
Weston, William, 147
Whitby, 111
White, John, 157, 202
Whitechapel, 212–216, 259
Whittington, Dick, 230
Whitton, 190
Wightman, 212, 213
Wigston, 179
Wigtoft, 178
Wilby, 122
Willis, Browne, 217
Wilnar, John, 205
Wimbish, the family, 80, 82
Wimbledon, 147
Wimborn Minster, 152, 153
Wimbotsham, 106
Winthorpe, 104, 128
Wisset, 147, 226
Wokingham, 155, 156
Wolsey, Cardinal, 290
Wood, Anthony à, 223, 224
Woodbury, 151
Woodstock, 210, 221, 257
Woodton, 16
Woolaston, 116
Wootton, 221
Worcester, 182, 183, 218, 260, 284
Worstead, 225
Wouldham, 208
Wragby, 129
Wrentham, 198
Wrexham, 217
Wright, Edmund, 211
Wyddial, 106
Wymington, 116
Wymondham, 315, 316
Wynkyn de Worde, 280

Xiphilinus, 16

Yarmouth, 224
Yarnscombe, 147
Yarpole, 117
Yatton, 147
Yaxley, 201
Yeatminster, 203
York, 71–74, 88, 211, 215, 227, 228
Yorkshire founders, 184, 185, 228, 248

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
General Literature,	2-19
Ancient Cities,	19
Antiquary's Books,	20
Beginner's Books,	20
Business Books,	20
Byzantine Texts,	21
Churchman's Bible,	21
Churchman's Library,	21
Classical Translations,	21
Commercial Series,	22
Connoisseur's Library,	22
Library of Devotion,	23
Standard Library,	23
Half-Crown Library,	24
Illustrated Pocket Library of Plain and Coloured Books,	24
Junior Examination Series,	26
Junior School-Books,	26
Leaders of Religion,	27
Little Blue Books,	27
Little Books on Art,	27
Little Galleries,	28
Little Guides,	28
Little Library,	28
Miniature Library,	30
Oxford Biographies,	30
School Examination Series,	30
Social Questions of To-day,	31
Textbooks of Science,	31
Textbooks of Technology	31
Handbooks of Theology	31
Westminster Commentaries,	32
Fiction,	32-36
The Shilling Novels,	37
Books for Boys and Girls	38
Novels of Alexandre Dumas,	38
Methuen's Sixpenny Books,	39

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